THE SURVEY

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The Gist of It

WHY I Stay in Business is the engaging introduction to what, we hope, in a few years will be the autobiography of MARK WISEMAN. He has tried social reform and journalism, to find his place eventually as a partner in the Blackman Company, a New York advertising agency. He is a trustee of the National Child Labor Committee and was at one time commander and is still a member of the Willard Straight Post of the American Legion, which has a well-earned reputation for its liberal angle on affairs. All of which may explain his feeling that he still "retains some of the characteristics of the thistle among the weeds of aggressive conservatism." Page 469.

AWAY out of the critical unemployment situation might be charted in the shape of a wheel, the rim, the hub and each spoke doing its part in turning over a stalled engine. No city in America has such a wheel complete. Yet if the successful parts from different cities were put together by a skilled workman it could roll off smoothly. Such a wheelwright's job is attempted (page 473) by BEULAH AMIDON, associate editor, after a trip to Rochester, Cincinnati, and Indianapolis.

THE dismissal wage paid to workers laid off by the permanent closing of a plant of the U. S. Rubber Company attracted the attention of W. J. COUPER, who is teaching labor problems at Yale University. His proposed study of what happened to the displaced workers was approved by the Institute of Human Relations. EWAN CLAGUE resigned from the Business Research Bureau of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company to direct the study. Their article (page 477) summarizes the significance of the dismissal wage in the readjustment of the ex-rubber workers. It is expected that the Institute will later publish a monograph covering the study.

GOVERNORS, national, state and city committees, employers, members of Congress—all those acutely interested in unemployment and what can be done about it, are apt to turn to PAUL H. DOUGLAS, professor of economics at the University of Chicago, organizing director of the Swarthmore Unemployment Study, technical adviser to Governor Roosevelt's Committee on Reducing Unemployment Through Stabilizing Industry. The problems to be solved in working out an American scheme of unemployment insurance, the possibilities and the pitfalls of such an experiment, are outlined by Dr. Douglas (page 484) in a dispassionate article.

THE background of CHARLES M. MILLS' article on Dole-itis (page 487) includes experience of American industry as assistant to the vice-president of the Standard Oil Company of Ohio and on the staff of the Industrial Relations Counsellors, Inc. He is at present engaged in practice as an industrial counsellor in New York City. In the summer and early fall of 1930 he visited fourteen countries in Europe, in particular England and Germany and had an interview with the Fascist leader, Hitler.

STYLE is the obstacle to the plans of retailers who would like to stock their shelves with standard goods and thus make a substantial contribution to the regularization of manufacture, which means steady work and wages with which their goods may be bought. But there are encouraging signs, even in a country where all classes of society insist upon having the "latest." Much of the material for the article (page 490) on the subject came out of the researches of the Committee to Study Methods of Reducing Seasonal Business Slumps, of which A. LINCOLN FILENE is a member. He is chairman of the board of directors of one of the best known of American stores, William Filene's Sons Company of Boston, and of the Federated Department Stores, Inc.

FIRST-HAND information on workingmen and prohibition comes to WHITING WILLIAMS (page 493) through his tried practice of dressing and living and working like a worker among workers. He is well known to readers of Survey Graphic from articles in these and other pages and as a popular speaker, following his earlier work in the first community chest at Cleveland.

SO great was the pressure of the unemployed on New York's Emergency Work Bureau that almost overnight the Job Line ceased to be a job line and became a waiting list. With every available dollar ear-marked to stretch the payroll for twenty-five thousand men into the spring, it was necessary to cut off intake and to limit to five thousand the registration of those waiting for such openings as turnover might bring. The Bureau could have doubled its placements and still not have come to the end of the job line. Work could have been found. But even $8,000,000 will do just so much and no more, so the Bureau, after the article on page 496 was in type, was obliged to close its doors to new applicants. Its work, its swift organization and financing, represent an enormous undertaking in mass relief. How it actually functioned is told by GERTRUDE SPRINGER of Survey Graphic staff.

THE Chicago Health Institute has made a unique contribution to the modern group practice of medicine, and in the trying field of the venereal diseases. Its work is set forth (page 500) on its eleventh anniversary by MARY ROSS, associate editor of Survey Graphic.

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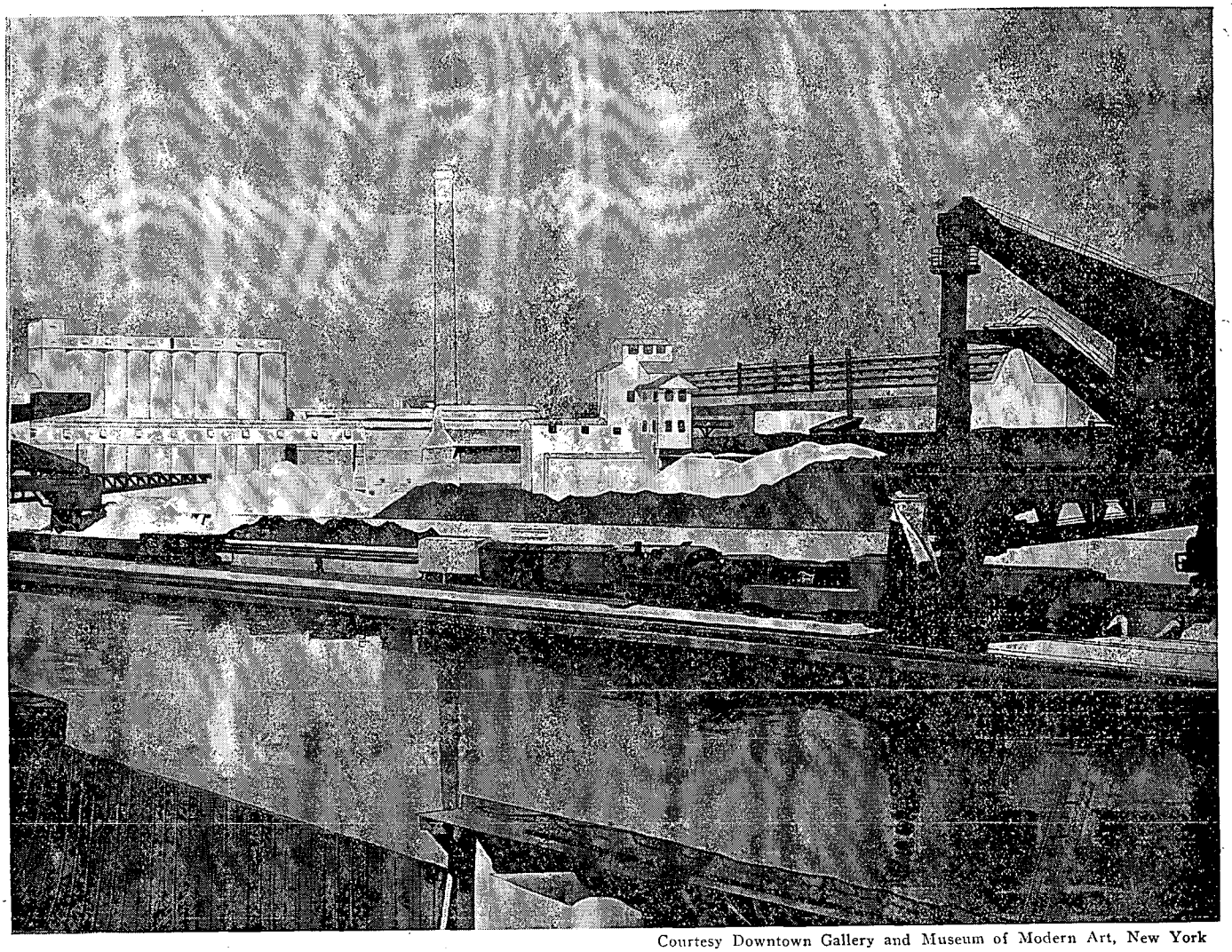

Courtesy Downtown Gallery and Museum of Modern Art, New York

AMERICAN LANDSCAPE

PAINTING BY CHARLES SHEELER

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Why I Stay in Business

By MARK WISEMAN

I GREW up with the conviction that I would never be a business man, and with a distaste for business and all its concerns which dogged my steps for twenty years.

If I were a believer in inherited tendencies I might try to account for this state of mind by reference to my ancestry. My father developed himself into a successful merchant in a small Ohio city, but I think the occupation secretly nearest his heart was his avocational writing. His father was postmaster of another Ohio town for many years, and wrote heavy tomes of local history. My maternal grandfather's legal knowledge never brought him into contact with business. Behind them were doctors and school teachers, Methodist preachers, and circuit riders, both male and female, for many generations.

A Behaviorist would doubtless attribute my anti-business feelings to the conditioning I received during boyhood. And I think he would be more nearly right. For a part of each vacation between the ages of eleven and nineteen, I worked in my father's hardware store. I sold nails and saws and planes to friendly and talkative carpenters. I sold carpet sweepers and garden seeds and plated silverware to women who called me by my first name and asked after my mother. At Christmas I sold skates and sleds and pocket-knives and coffee percolators with a sense of being Santa Claus's right-hand man.

This was all fun. Such selling was easy because everybody came in to buy some particular thing. Supersalesmanship and the philosophy of turnover had not yet been discovered. I was young enough to be thrilled by the opportunity to fetch and carry for other people, and I took great pleasure in making certain that they got what they asked for. My father had already assured himself that what they got was good—he did not believe in shoddy merchandise which could be sold at cut prices for a high profit.

If this had been the limit of my activities, I am quite sure that my feeling about business would have turned out to be more favorable. But I had other duties. Being the youngest "clerk," as well as the son of a father who bent over backwards to avoid partiality, I was expected to be on the job at six o'clock in the morning to help sweep the floors and dust the stock before the first customers arrived. I was not supposed to rest during working hours, even by so little as sitting on a keg of nails, no matter how much my back ached. It was usually I who went to the damp and dirty cellar for quarts of linseed oil and Japan dryer. And, in spite of a congenital hatred of dirt-in-the-fingernails, I was required to help handle tons of greasy tool steel and rusty scrap iron.

This program was no worse than that followed by tens of thousands of other boys, but it caused me deep physical and spiritual pain for which the pleasures of the job could not compensate. I came to hate the store; and, since the store was for me the symbol of business, I came to hate business. If, in the later years of my youth, something of the philosophy of business had been explained to me—as my father could have explained it, and did explain it to others—I might have been weaned back; but by that time my rebellion had shown its teeth. Business and I were no longer in sympathy with each other.

AT seventeen I went to college. Here I very quickly found a new and fascinating means of self-expression: *words*. I talked and wrote and studied words. Then I began to discover that words were the tools of thought. The contrast between what I knew as business, on the one hand, and this thrilling new adventure with words, on the other, gave business what I then supposed was the final push out of my life. It was largely the lure of words which made me, for a time, a victim of religious revivalism, and I passed through a period of exaltation during which I pictured my words leading the world's lost sheep to salvation. The same lure drew me to Harvard University where I spent a rapturous year under the spell of Bliss Perry and Santayana; and it led me finally into the city room of The New York World.

Here, without my knowing it, began a disillusionment which required years to realize. The editors of The World wanted, not words, but facts. And I hated facts. I wrote

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beautiful columns of lovely words, and saw them mercilessly reduced to stickfuls of ugly rhythmless facts. It was too soon for me to have learned that my love of words was due partly to that common yearning of all youth for the enchantment of the indefinite, and partly to a lively egotism nurtured by a strong dose of collegiate culture. For months I continued to protect my verbal treasures from the corrosive influence of facts, and my ego from contact with life. Poor nursling ego—many's the hour it was walked back and forth in front of a house or an office within which an interview waited!

Yet Fate was kind. Words won a place for me—of a sort. They cut a path around the rock that stood in my way. I became a rewrite humorist!—I who had never, up to that time, consciously caused a mortal to laugh. From an execrable reporter, I became the city staff's funny man. My sacred words received prizes, smiles, congratulations.

BUT I did not want to be a funny man. It was too hard work. Each effort was a sheer tour de force. I sweat blood at it. Besides, I was deadly serious. I wanted to do Something Big. I wanted to *influence* people. I wanted to express myself.

Editorials! What a mellifluously solemn word. And what an opportunity. I would write editorials, and the world would be at my feet. My only lack—a paper which would pay me for them—was magically provided one day through the friend of a friend who wanted an editor for a country weekly in Staten Island—a country weekly with an angel. And never again will my ego be engulfed in such a flood of emotion as when our lone linotyper passed me the first smudged galley proofs of my virgin editorial efforts and I sat in a haze of self-hypnosis plotting their effects upon my four thousand readers.

Effects there were, as weeks went by—momentous effects. So thoroughly did my editorials succeed in alienating the sympathies of readers and advertisers alike that the paper was kept out of bankruptcy only by angelic generosity and a heroic reduction of all non-union salaries. The high sense of martyrdom with which I continued for a while to reform my small world for $20 a week instead of $25 was adequate compensation for the reduction in my own case; but my feeling was not shared by my associates, and their relief was ill-concealed when I accepted a call to help direct the destinies of the local Civic League.

While in the white heat of my new duties, I was invited to dinner by an older friend who had become president of a large New York corporation. During the after-dinner talk I spoke at some length about the social advantages and spiritual compensations of civic and political reform. Money, I said (and meant it), was of little consequence to me.

"Perhaps you are right," replied my host, lighting a third and somewhat impatient Corona. "At your age I felt the urge to reform the world. But I learned to think better of it."

"Pitiful, misguided misanthrope," thought I. "He has sold his soul." And my sense of superiority sent me out into the crisp winter night with wings of holiness on my feet.

The following spring I became engaged to be married.

The following summer I became a business man.

A quick calculation proves that I have been in business for fifteen years, almost to the day. I even have partners, and they seem to feel that I am an asset to the organization. As a result, I experience moods of humility when my gratitude for their credulous evaluation knows no bounds, sandwiched between moods of rebellion in which I see my ineradicable literary ambitions sacrificed upon the altar of materialistic gain. In order to satisfy these latter moods, I have banished from my office all golden oak desks, swivel chairs, and filing cabinets. To reassure my associates, I study market researches, take voluminous notes at meetings (we don't have conferences in our office any more), discuss business trends, analyze selling methods, and quite often work fourteen hours in a day.

I haven't, as you see, entirely "passed" even yet. If I had, I wouldn't be writing this unprecedented confession. I still forget to buy stocks until the market is at its peak, and forget to sell until it has gone through the floor. I spend half a morning with a yearning youth who can't help admitting his literary guilt in spite of his need for a rent-paying job, when I ought to be steaming ahead on new sales plans for soap or sealing wax. My modest material environment is elaborate beyond even my most sanguine youthful dream, but I can't rend with a harsh laugh the memory of my participation in the first woman's suffrage parade or of the indigent evenings I once spent in radical talk over a single long Tom Collins in the coffee room of the Cafe Lafayette.

Does it all sound a little sad and pathetic? Do not, I pray you, weep. I rather like it. In fact (if you press me) I'm having, generally, a quite lovely time.

The other day, the wife of one of my friends said to me, "The chief trouble with being poor is that people think you are not intelligent enough to make money." I make enough money to convince "people" that I am reasonably intelligent, and this soothes my ego in its most sensitive spot. My material prosperity seems relatively well secured and provides necessary comforts as well as more than a few shameless luxuries. By virtue of it, I can play a number of absurd musical instruments and be thought "interesting" instead of merely queer. I can wear soft shirts to my occasional luncheons in the Bankers' Club without self-consciousness. My family can live in a much-loved beach shack in the summer without implying that we are too poor to afford a "resort." I can drive a second-hand car that happens to be something of a pet, with perfect nonchalance—there was a time when this required bravado. I can even live in the Village slums without danger to my reputation among "people who count." The fact that I did these things *before* this modest business success was achieved is beside the point—the ego which was then satisfied by the rationalization, "I defy convention," is far more comfortable under the salve of *Unnötigkeit*. And I am in the kind of business which pays well for words.

THUS, instead of killing all spiritual existence for me, as I used to think it would inevitably do, business has provided the only really fertile ground for spiritual sprouting which life has thus far afforded. Having achieved *materially*, I have proved my mettle before the world, as a hitherto untried soldier establishes his reputation for bravery by a single deed of heroism. Having been able to cast off the poisonous worries which derive solely from a lack of funds, I face chiefly the money problems which grow out of the necessity for making choices of expenditure: shall I buy another car, or go to Europe next summer? . . . Shall I buy a new overcoat, or a coveted set of books? . . . Shall we do the house over, or have another baby?

Beyond these, my important remaining set of worries has

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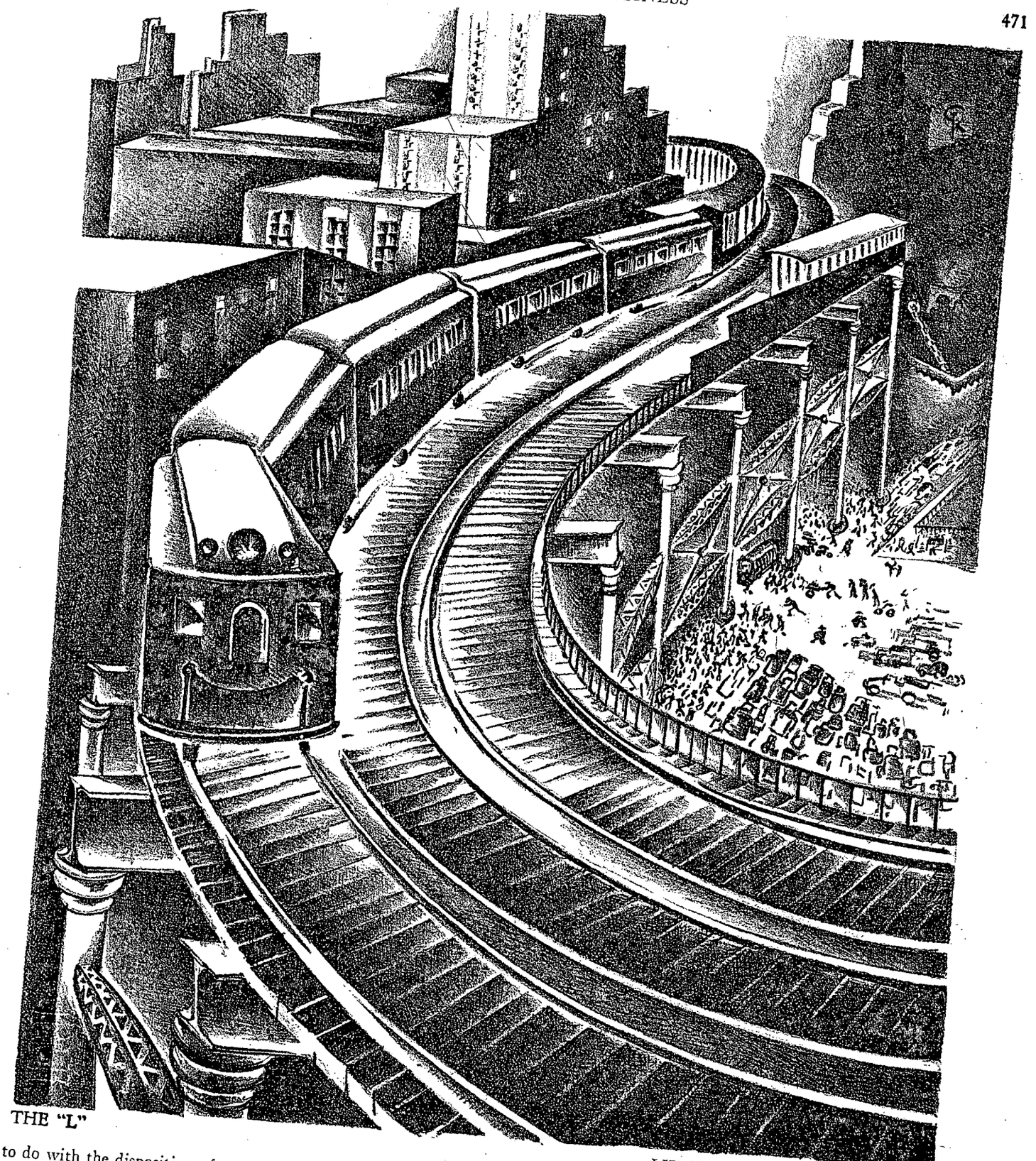

THE "L"

LITHOGRAPH BY GAN KOLSKI

to do with the disposition of my time, which is fast becoming (as I reach the plateau of middle age) my most precious possession. Here I am bound by certain chains of necessity: in order to maintain my material status, I must devote at least eight hours of each week-day to business. Often enough I do this grudgingly—I would usually much prefer to plough a fragrant furrow or two further into the novel which lies concealed behind my bookcase, or toast an afternoon before the incandescent mind of a philosophical friend. But, with my wife's cooperation, I find considerable time in the evenings for such pleasures and, curiously enough, since I have been able to cease worrying about tax bills and notes at the bank, business itself has taken on a different color for me.

I am beginning to see business as the most fruitful modern

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source of economic and sociological study—as the prime symbol of American life, and probably of the life of the whole civilized world for half of the next millenium. I am getting a spiritual kick out of business which is far more percussive than the thrills of my youthful reform years. Its character as a pursuit of material wealth, its nine-to-fiveness and day-to-dayness, while still cogent, are becoming incidental to the opportunities it affords for observing the effects of its creative force upon the world-around.

For example, I have begun to discover the truth behind the theory propounded several years ago by Mary Austin in a Survey Graphic article when she said:

> It is inevitable that the right approach to the fundamentals of economics, under whatever veils of incomplete understanding, should be made by "business" men, rather than the economic radicals who, impotent of the constructive activities of "business". . . are wasting their energies on invented devices for dividing the heap of wealth, instead of trying to understand economic mastery as a continuing economic process.

BUSINESS as such needs no justification from me, but this keen bit of observation about it and its devotees deserves more than passing attention. The era of the radical theorist and the academic economist is drawing to a close. The economist of tomorrow will be the man who has taken a postgraduate course in the practical school of business, who knows from actual experience the processes of production and distribution, and whose tools are statistics gathered in the field from manufacturers, shippers, jobbers, retailers, and consumers. The age of surveys is already upon us. The questionnaire has already become a stage joke. But out of the technique to which they both belong is growing a mass of data which would have been almost incomprehensible to the average university economist of pre-war days, and would have meant nothing at all to the economic radical.

For nearly ten years I have been associated with an American manufacturer who, by means of market analyses, sales tests, careful sales planning, personnel intelligence tests applied to his sales force, strategically planned advertising, and direct-selling to retailers, has been able to develop a system which permits him to plot his annual production a year ahead with an actual error of one per cent. In sharp contrast to this, I have recently been in England, where business practice is approximately at the stage reached by American business in 1910, and by no process of inquiry was I able to discover from any strictly British source the answers to such simple questions as, "What is the actual market for laundry soap?" or "What is the combined circulation of the principal newspapers in Birmingham, Nottingham, Leeds, Sheffield, and Newcastle?"—questions which any interested American business man could answer within a few minutes if applied to this country. In England, the manufacturer who desires to market a new product "makes up" a guessed-at quantity, distributes it through channels which he cannot accurately plot, advertises it in media whose circulations are a complete mystery, and trusts to luck. The American manufacturer would not only know beforehand the extent of his market, but he would know the attitude of the jobber and retailer, the consumer-acceptability of his product, and the circulation of his advertising media almost to the last thousand.

Only out of such knowledge can practical economics grow. It would be begging the question to argue that by such means business was unable to prevent the over-production which has been so important a factor in causing the present depression. Business has been developing a technique. It is not the technique which has broken down in the present instance, but the practice and the synthesis. We have not yet reached that point of knowledge about the ramifications and relationships of the technique, at which we are able to deduce a set of laws that will adequately govern its use, and perhaps we shall never do so until we invent some fair means of limiting competition. Whether this will come about through the development of gigantic mergers, the activities of which will be regulated by the government; or through legalizing production and distribution agreements among manufacturers under a system of federal supervision; or by some eventual approach to the communist principle of production for use instead of for profit, no one is at present equipped to predict. But we are in the midst of a great economic adventure and I, for one, find myself fascinated by the drama. If I were not a part of it, even in a humble capacity, I should feel cheated just as, having been coeval with Caesar, I would have felt cheated if I had not been a legionnaire; or, if a contemporary of Socrates, I had not been at least a bench-duster in the Athenian groves.

I missed being a pre-war Socialist by a considerable margin, although I had met Bill Haywood and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn during the Lawrence strike in 1912, read The Masses, and gone to dances in the old "Working Girls' Home" in Greenwich Village. I was born probably too much of a Platonist to accept the intellectual implications of Socialism, however much class-war revival meetings might affect me emotionally. Yet I felt that something was wrong with the Big Business idea and I was torn by a combination of doubt and ignorance. Socialism seemed to me merely one of those "devices for dividing the heap of wealth" which Mrs. Austin speaks of—a sort of wish-fulfilment "divvyism." On the other hand, Big Business seemed, as the radical agitators declared, to be ruthlessly stealing the just rewards of labor and sanctimoniously building with them monuments to its ego in the form of libraries and "foundations."

DURING the ten years since the debacle of 1921, however, I have seen the beginnings of a new philosophy. I have seen Big Business absorbed in the process of discovering that it owes its existence to something bigger than itself. It has discovered the Public. It has discovered a new kind of competition for the Public's favor—competition, not between rival railroads, for example, but between the railroads and the automobile, between steel and aluminum, between coal and oil, between wheat and green vegetables, between home cooking and the restaurant and the bakery. It has discovered, not only that it must bow to the Public as a lawmaker, but that it must solicit the Public's confidence and goodwill for its own salvation.

I happen to have spent these years in that ancillary form of business known as advertising, which is still, to the academic economist and the economic radical, an Avernus from which no good thing can come. But the advertising agency, however one may estimate its economic worth, provides a coign of vantage second to none from which to watch the kaleidoscopic drama of business, and it has been particularly advantageous as a ringside seat during the epic struggle of Big Business to redjust itself in its relations with the Public. Through the advertising agency has passed all the correspondence from business to its (*Continued on page* 518)

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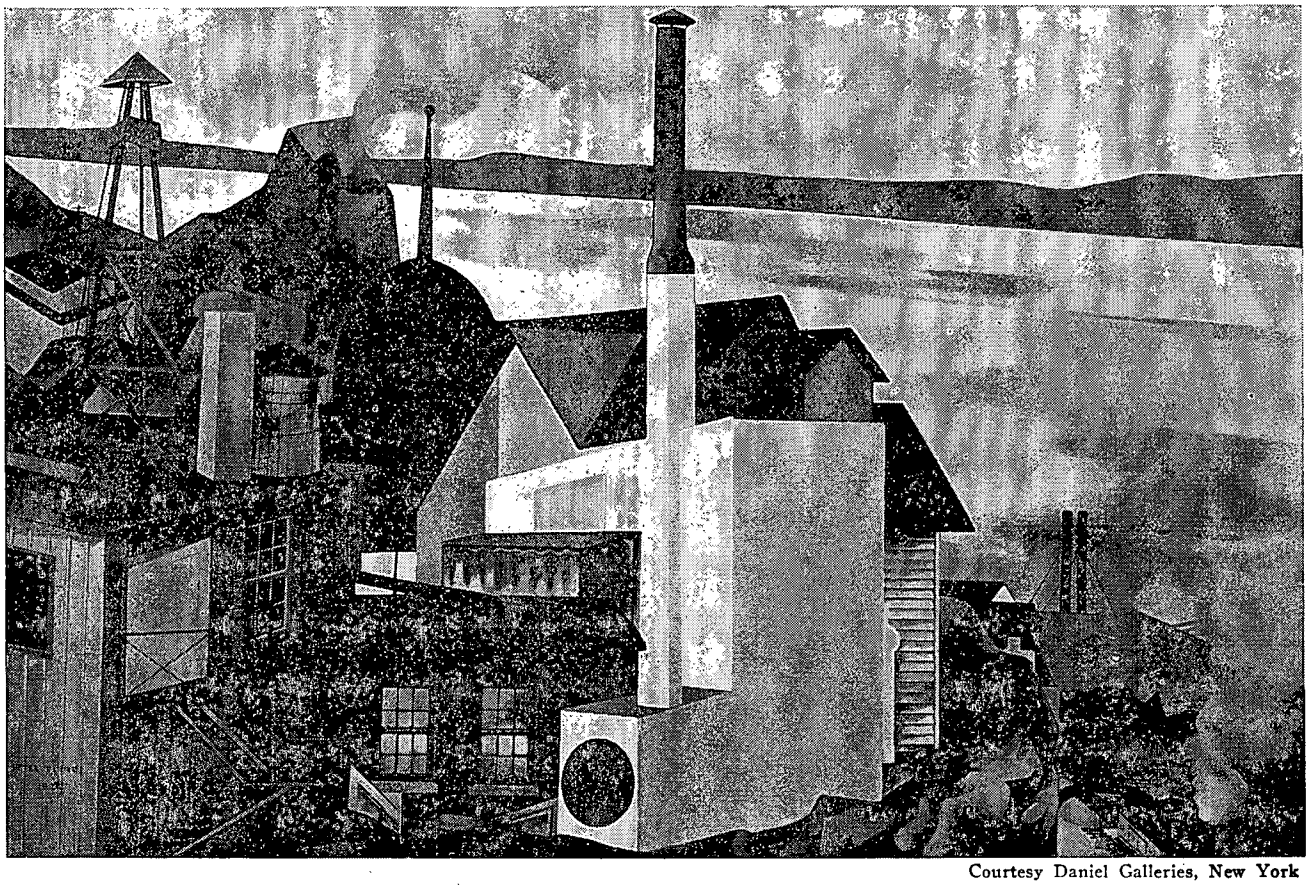

Courtesy Daniel Galleries, New York

WHITE FACTORY — PAINTING BY PETER BLUME

Three Cities Look Ahead

By BEULAH AMIDON

"IT'S not right for things to be let run this way. We got to do something about unemployment. You don't get anywhere, just being all het up and handing out food." The man who said that to me was a young workman, jobless for five months, who was asking for coal from a mid-western municipality. And more and more American communities, as the peak of unemployment has risen this winter, are likely to have that sort of quandary thrust at them. Still more so in the spring, when even if employment picks up, the relief load will hang on, for families will be stripped of their resources.

Scores of emergency committees have sprung up in the United States this winter, under the spur of the Woods Committee. Can the interest and zeal which is going into them be turned to long-range account and get behind measures that lead somewhere? What experience have American cities to offer which have faced the problem in this way?

I chose three of them, which went at it before the present situation grew acute, and this article is a composite picture of what to me were the most suggestive leads they have to offer other communities which are coming at the situation under the spur of this winter's crisis. I shall tell their experience largely in the words of the men and women on the job.

The cities are Cincinnati, which set going its Permanent Committee on Stabilizing Employment in January, 1929; Rochester, whose Civic Committee on Unemployment came into being in January, 1930; and Indianapolis, where the Commission for the Stabilization of Employment was organized last March.

After talking with industrial leaders, bankers, merchants, social workers, municipal authorities, personnel directors, economists, jobless men and women in these three cities I should like to draw a picture of "what can be done about unemployment" as a five-spoked wheel.

Its rim is public education—an honest, informed community awareness of what unemployment means to us as individuals and as members of a group, and the most hopeful means of dealing with the problem.

The hub would be a permanent community organization, functioning in brisk times and in slow, as continuous and as carefully adapted to local needs as is the public health set-up.

And the spokes of my wheel I should label: fact-finding, to enable the community to analyze and understand its own situation; stabilization of local industries, to reduce the amount of unemployment; employment services, to connect men and jobs with the least possible delay; vocational guidance and training, to equip people for definite fields of work,

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and to steer them (particularly the younger ones) toward the occupations where there are likely to be "men wanted;" relief and reserves, to cushion for the worker the burden of unavoidable periods of part-time work or of unemployment.

While this is a logical order of procedure from the standpoint of prevention, emergency relief committees have taken hold at the tail. They must face about in reconstructing and continuing their work from the standpoint not of the emergency but of the long problem.

No community today has in full swing so complete a program as I have outlined. Nor has any one of these cities "solved" unemployment. The work each is doing has to be considered this winter against a background of acute industrial depression. All three have a mounting unemployment problem, with from 5 to 15 per cent of the wage-earning population totally jobless, and an even larger proportion on part time. Cincinnati, with 450,000 inhabitants, had 20,000 who could find no work to do, and 1600 families were on relief because of unemployment during the first two weeks in December. Rochester estimated that, in a total population of 327,000, the unemployed numbered 15,000 to 17,000 with 3500 (individuals) on relief. In Indianapolis, 25,000 men and women, in a city of 368,000, were jobless in early December. I shall try to set down here some of the outstanding values of these community efforts to grapple with unemployment, how they are functioning through the winter's emergency, what their experience indicates to be the most hopeful lines of work for similar set-ups in other towns and cities.

The Hub of the Wheel

IN Cincinnati, the Permanent Committee grew out of community concern with the results of unemployment, which were felt even in the piping days of 1928-29. C. M. Bookman, executive secretary of the Community Chest, and Fred K. Hoehler, the young engineer whom Colonel C. O. Sherrill, the city manager, had made director of public welfare, were in key positions to note what unemployment did to jobless men and women, and, indirectly, to the entire community. Largely because of their concern with the continuing results of unemployment, their conviction that a permanent organization could function to relieve casual unemployment, foresee and forestall seasonal unemployment, and even predict and mitigate cyclical unemployment, the city manager called together a small group of community leaders in January, 1929, "to discuss the employment situation in Cincinnati." Out of the meeting came the Permanent Committee, with Colonel Sherrill as chairman, Mr. Hoehler as secretary, and a small sub-committee on "Plans and Agenda." This sub-committee, made up of F. C. Hicks, of the University of Cincinnati, James Wilson, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, and Mr. Bookman drew up the plan for the Permanent Committee, working through ten permanent sub-committees (see The Survey, December 15, 1929, page 331). When Colonel Sherrill left the city managership to become vice-president of the Kroger Grocery Company, he continued as chairman of the unemployment committee, and C. A. Dykstra, the new manager, was asked to serve as co-chairman.

This is a long term job [Colonel Sherrill pointed out to me]. We've been at it long enough to clear the ground a little, but it is too soon to show definite results. You take a flood control job [this former army engineer continued]. Years of preparation have to go into study and planning before you can actually begin to divert rivers or build levees or cut canals—sometimes even before you can determine the sound method of going at the thing. But to try to "show results" before this preliminary work had been soundly done would be worse than useless. It is too bad, I feel, that there has been so much talk about the "Cincinnati plan." We never expected to find a magic short-cut to stabilized employment. It's a big job of social engineering. It demands years of study and effort. Because our permanent committee has been functioning for two years, we are better off this winter than we would otherwise have been, but we are not prepared to submit a catalog of "results." Probably we never shall be. Much of what these civic groups accomplish in dealing with unemployment can never be reduced to statistical tables.

THE Rochester Civic Committee grew out of a study made by the Council of Social Agencies. From 1928 onward, the uniform records kept by local relief agencies showed a mounting burden of unemployment cases. In many instances efforts to rehabilitate families were defeated because the breadwinners could not obtain steady work. The general secretary of the Council put this situation before the community. For months no action resulted. But last winter the growing load of unemployment cases could no longer be disregarded. Thirty-two men and women, outstanding in their respective fields, came together as an emergency committee to "do something about unemployment." This central committee included ten business men, two bankers, an attorney, the executive vice-president of the Chamber of Commerce, the manager of the Industrial Management Council, the president of the School Board, the director of the Bureau of Municipal Research, the city manager, Republican and Democratic leaders, a state senator, the judge of the Children's Court, the assistant to the State Industrial Commission, a bishop, a leading rabbi and the head of the Council of Christian Churches. This group became the nucleus of the Rochester Civic Committee on Unemployment. The committee requested Marion B. Folsom, assistant treasurer of the Eastman Kodak Company, to draw up a working program. In a paper presented at the Silver Bay Conference on Industrial Relations last fall Mr. Folsom said:

Through the study which I had made since 1922 in connection with my work at the Kodak Company on the prevention of unemployment, I made as comprehensive a program as possible, pointing out emergency functions first and then indicating permanent functions which should be considered by the committee. I hoped, of course, that the committee would want to do a real constructive job, but doubted that it would agree to attempt the entire program. At the meeting called to consider the program it was adopted in its entirety.

THE Indianapolis organization also grew out of a mounting community concern with an unemployment situation which, in the first quarter of 1930 was unmistakably growing more serious. In its name, Commission on Stabilizing Employment, as well as in its work, it has emphasized the constructive side of its undertaking. Its members were appointed by the mayor and the president of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, at the request of a conference called by the local community fund to consider the problems then facing the relief agencies of the city.

If one were to draw up a cast of characters of the people who have instituted these movements for tackling the economic security of their communities in new ways it would include in each instance, as does the Rochester list, manufacturers of luxuries and of staples, professors of education and economics, community chest executives and case workers, ministers, priests and rabbis, merchants, doctors, lawyers,—a genuine cross-section of community thought and activity.

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IN Cincinnati the secretary of the Permanent Committee is the hard-driven director of public welfare; in Indianapolis, the secretary of the stabilization commission is also secretary of the Chamber of Commerce; in Minneapolis, he is a university professor who already has a full-time job. But in Rochester, the group wanted their secretaryship to be a full-time job, "to eliminate foozling," as Henry H. Stebbins, Jr., the chairman, put it. Their secretary is S. Park Harman, who has had both social work and personnel experience. He is in charge of the committee's permanent headquarters, and has adequate clerical help for carrying forward the Committee's program. The expenses of the Committee are shared equally by the city, the county and the Community Chest. These three organizations were asked to contribute equal amounts, because any reduction in unemployment brought about by the Committee would mean a saving to the relief agencies of the three groups. The Committee's budget for the first year was $15,000.

The plan worked out by Mr. Folsom divides the work of the general committee among eight sub-committees. Henry H. Stebbins, Jr., the chairman, is also a member of Governor Roosevelt's State Committee on Reducing Unemployment Through Stabilizing Industry. He appointed as chairmen of the eight sub-committees, men who are particularly fitted to the undertaking of each division. They are all too busy to waste time and energy on the mechanical details of handling a volunteer organization. The paid headquarters staff constitutes a "secretariat" which takes care of the routine clerical work for the entire organization — calls committee meetings, keeps minutes, sends out questionnaires and form letters, distributes bulletins and reports, files material, "cleans up all the dirty work," as one sub-committee chairman put it. The executive committee, including the chairmen of sub-committees, the general chairman and the exective secretary, meets weekly. Each chairman has organized his own job, often with both temporary and permanent committees within the sub-committee. There are now 156 active members of Rochester's organization. I was told:

> If the Civic Committee had accomplished nothing more than the education of its own members on the subject of unemployment, it would have been enormously worth while from the community standpoint. It has made several important leaders here conscious of the problem and the factors playing on it, and they have come to see that very material progress toward its solution can be made.

Some of the Rochester sub-committees are more active than others. Because of the local conditions and because of the very nature of the job, no community program makes even progress all along the line. But on "the elimination of foozling," Rochester has valuable suggestions for every community that plans a long-range attack on the unemployment problem. It has a real hub.

Getting the Facts

EVEN with official census figures on unemployment "as of April, 1930," no country, we are frequently reminded, knows so little about the nature and extent of its unemployment situation as we do. "Fact finding" is a feature of every community program for dealing with unemployment.

Cincinnati takes a house-to-house school census each May. In the spring of 1929 and again in 1930, employment questions were added to this census schedule. Due to misunderstanding on the part of some of the enumerators, figures for the two years are not exactly comparable. When the method has been improved, on the basis of two years' experience, Cincinnati will have, year by year, the number of wage-earners in the population as of a given date, the number on steady work, the number on part time and the number not working. The Trounstine Foundation is experimenting with a blank to be filled out for every applicant for relief or assistance on account of unemployment. The blank will supply information on the applicant's work record, the family situation, any special personal or family problems, and the disposition of the case. As the pressure of the winter's load on the relief agencies increases, the proportion of blanks turned in decreases. Both the agencies and the Foundation feel, however, that a fact-finding procedure of value to the permanent Committee and also to the relief organizations is being developed.

Instead of an annual census of the wage-earners and the number employed, Rochester is working toward the construction and maintenance of a monthly index of local employment. Payroll figures for the five-year period ending October, 1930, are being analyzed. These figures represent the number employed in 97 factories, in 42 stores, by 195 contractors, and those employed by the city and by the public utilities. It covers about 60 per cent of the wage-earners in Rochester outside the professional groups. The Rochester Committee has the cooperation of the Bureau of Municipal Research and of the statisticians of the local telephone company in analyzing and compiling its figures. This employ-

Looking Ahead Five Years

Stirred by the winter's situation, people are beginning to think beyond relief measures, to ask what can be done about unemployment itself. Heretofore in hard times—1907, 1914, 1921—the committees which shouldered the load usually worked out proposals at the close of their labors. But with the emergency over, these were forgotten and dust-ridden. This year under the stimulus from Washington, emergency relief committees have been set up in scores of cities and in many states and counties. Are they to liquidate when the peak is past, or are they to lead on to something? Here are three cities with organizations for dealing with unemployment set up before the situation became acute. More important, they are looking ahead in terms of five or ten years. What have they to suggest? To answer this question, a staff member made a swift survey in Rochester, Indianapolis, Cincinnati. What she found is set down here, not as an analysis of the current depression nor a dissertation on what a city can and should do, but as the log of a journey which, it is hoped, holds useful suggestions for other communities preparing to "do something about unemployment."

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ment index has served as the basis for the committee's work.

Indianapolis also has begun its fact-finding job with a thorough-going analysis of the local situation. Taking such statistics as are available (largely the payrolls of local industries) the fact-finding committee, of which Professor R. Clyde White is chairman, has studied seasonal, cyclical, and casual unemployment, as Indianapolis experiences them, and, in a recent and very illuminating report, has traced local production trends and cleared the ground for future record keeping and analysis of employment and unemployment figures.

Stabilization

ALL three cities have broached the subject of stabilization, and all in different ways, but Rochester, Indianapolis and Cincinnati are alike in finding that they have at home people and experience that count if what has already been done is uncovered and made available to the whole community. In this, they are head and shoulders over the average American city which is only in this winter's crisis beginning to give thought to unemployment and what can be done to control it.

At the Marmon Motor Car works on the edge of Indianapolis, the wheels were still turning in early December, and 60 per cent of last year's peak working force was on the job. Compared with a "normal" year—1925 or 1926—there had been a cut of about 12 per cent in the number on the payroll. The situation at the Marmon works was made possible through long range forecasting and planning, through a highly organized plan of staggered work, through sales organization. Behind it stands the vigorous young president of the company, G. M. Williams, and his belief in the importance of controlling unemployment through stabilizing industry.

In the main office of the huge plant of today stands the old bell that called the hands to work in the Marmon mills of seventy years ago. The employment policies Mr. Williams has worked out are as much a part of "the new day" in industry as were the gleaming new Marmon models on the floor outside of the president's office. Without sentimentality or apology, Mr. Williams holds that "the control of unemployment in this country is largely up to industry." He is chairman of the Indianapolis Commission for the Stabilization of Employment.

The city has a backbone of industrial enterprise which has been little affected by the current situation. The Real Silk Hosiery Company, next to the "Big 4" Railroad the largest employer in the community, has prospered. The Kingan Packing Company has a basic force of 2600, and, even with a highly perishable product, a seasonal peak of only 3000. The Lilly Drug Company has not laid off a single employe. In the Columbia Conserve Company the community has an outstanding example of employer-employe cooperation, and of the degree to which serious study and experiment can cut down the labor turn-over even in so highly seasonal an industry as vegetable and fruit canning (see The Survey, April 1, 1929, page 43). The Indianapolis Commission has made use of the experience of local firms in its campaign of education in the community. Mr. Williams said to me:

I can't give you definite figures to put down in your notes. You can't say, for instance, that because of the efforts of the Commission, twenty-five hundred men and women are at work today who would otherwise be out of a job. On the other hand, we have made a real beginning here. We have collected information, and gotten it out among employers. People are thinking along these lines. Firms that never did it before are staggering work, keeping people on by making repairs and so on. And I think we realize that when the present emergency is over, our job is just begun. Industry can't tolerate unemployment, quite aside from the social questions involved. It's the worst business in the world. But we can deal with it successfully only in long-range terms, with a permanent organization and a program that carries along from year to year.

Rochester divides its stabilization effort into emergency and continuing activity. Almost the first work of the commission was to find out, through a questionnaire sent to 167 local employers, what Rochester industries had already done toward cutting down their employment curves. The questionnaires were returned by sixty-nine firms, employing about 41,000 workers. Seven reasons for irregular operation were reported: seasonal trade demands; increased practice of hand-to-mouth buying by retailers (see page 490 of this issue); increasing necessity to hold down inventories; seasonality of raw materials; inadequate storage facilities for perishable raw materials; customers' demand for specially designed products; abrupt style changes. Early in November, in cooperation with the statistical committee of the Industrial Management Council, the Commission issued a bulletin, summarizing the information given by the reporting firms. Their schemes for reducing these ups and downs included: sales forecasts, production scheduling, manufacturing to stock, standardization of product, diversification of product, elimination of waste, more intensive sales effort with more frequent contacts with the buyer, education of the public against seasonal buying, overtime work for temporary increase in volume, shortening of hours for temporary below-normal volume, price concessions for off-season orders. In an appendix, the bulletin outlines the experience of eight Rochester firms that have met obstacles to their efforts to stabilize, and of twenty-two firms that report marked progress in regularizing production and employment.

Two meetings of manufacturers were held, one before the questionnaire went out, and one at which a report on the data sent in was given. A Rochester employer, not a member of the Commission, said:

All that got the rest of us thinking about stabilizing. If a man has his attention turned to it he can do something along that line, I don't care how seasonal his business may be.

The benefits of stabilizing, from the point of view of business and the community as well as of the wage-earner, were repeatedly brought to the attention of superintendents and general managers. Mr. Folsom of the Eastman Kodak Company said:

We can't give you figures to prove it, but we know that more people have been kept on here than would have been if this impetus had not started before the hysteria. National concern with unemployment and the pressure on industry to "stabilize" began this fall. Real work along that line had already been done here.

Emergency measures adopted as part of the stabilization campaign in Rochester are summarized in the notable report of the Civic Committee on Unemployment, issued December 30, 1930:

The attack on the problem was made by the sub-committee on stabilization of employment with James E. Gleason, president of Gleason Works, as chairman. This sub-committee mobilized sixteen key men from leading industrial and retail store groups who set about finding what the various employers could do to keep workers at gainful

(*Continued on page* 510)

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When Shutdown Came

A Dismissal Wage in Practice

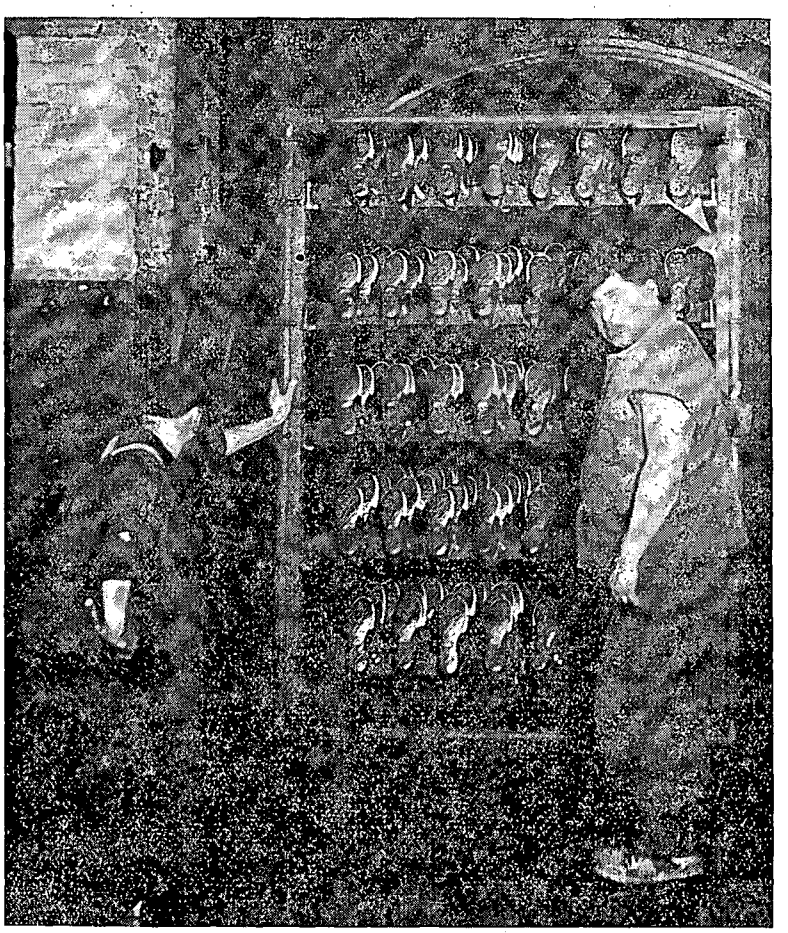
By EWAN CLAGUE and W. J. COUPER

THE workers' representatives, at the special meeting of the Factory Council of the L. Candee Company (a subsidiary of the U. S. Rubber Company) in New Haven, Connecticut, on March 12, 1929, expected nothing more unusual than a discussion of the recreational program, of new methods of production, or even of such a major problem as wage policy. None had anticipated the tragic announcement, then made, that on April 6 the factory would be closed forever.

That it was tragic need neither be emphasized nor glossed over. This was the oldest rubber-footwear manufacturing plant in the United States. For nearly a hundred years it had been part of the community and had provided the central focus for the lives of hundreds of workers. Its closing left a gap in the industrial structure of the city and disrupted the lives of some eight hundred workers.

The human and the social costs of such unemployment have often been described in these pages. For the business community it usually means loss of purchasing power, decreased retail sales, and all the other consequences that normally follow any industrial disturbance.

It is true that by an almost fatal coincidence the closing of this plant and later of several others of the same company happened to precede the most serious industrial depression of years and that this has complicated all readjustments. It must not be forgotten, nevertheless, that even in prosperous times there are thousands of men laid off through no fault of their own. Their savings are exhausted, their debts pile up and self-respect crumbles as they are forced to accept the demoralizing "dole" of charity. For industry has been slow to accept any responsibility for the welfare of its workers laid off for any reason, and at times of permanent shutdown, has in fact seldom felt able to. The worker's first intimation of the impending tragedy generally comes in his pay envelope at the end of the week in the form of a slip bluntly stating that his services are no longer required, and implying that he is at full liberty to tramp the streets in the discouraging search for work.



Vulcanizer in the oldest rubber-footwear plant in U. S., now closed

In this case, however, there was one bright spot in the otherwise dark picture. The Company had a genuine appreciation of the seriousness of the situation and exceeded the normal traditions of business management in assuming an obligation to facilitate the readjustment of the workers. This attempt took several forms.

First, the Company gave nearly a month's notice.

Second, it offered to transfer a number of workers to other plants of the Company; but this opportunity was necessarily limited in view of the fact that it was curtailing its total working force. For various reasons, also, not all the eligible workers accepted the offer. In New Haven, for example, only thirty-five were eventually transferred to Naugatuck twenty miles distant.

Third, the Company's employment offices by telephone, personal interview, and correspondence made vigorous efforts to place the workers. In Malden, Company representatives made about two hundred visits to nearby plants. In Hartford, the local management succeeded in securing the cooperation of the County Manufacturers' Association in setting up a special employment bureau in which rubber workers were given priority. The Association's secretary visited every possible employer in the city and some of the newspapers even ran free advertisements for the ex-employes. And in New Haven, to be specific, 175 workers were so placed before the plant was closed.

Fourth, since the Company had set up a pension plan in 1917, all workers already eligible who had not previously applied for them, automatically received their pensions. In New Haven

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The Company gave all employes a month's notice and did its utmost to find them jobs

fifty-one received a life pension ranging from a minimum of $20 to a maximum of $80 a month.

Finally, in consideration of their continued service till the end of the closing month, long-service workers were paid a dismissal wage varying with length of service and current earnings. This dismissal wage was the recognition of a moral responsibility of the Company to its long-service employes. It was designed particularly to compensate those who had stayed with the Company and refused the lure of higher wages elsewhere during the troubled years of war, and to ease the adjustment of those older workers who would find age a handicap in securing new employment as well as of those, not yet old, who had never worked anywhere else.[1]

WITHOUT going into any of the intricacies of policy which determined the final decision, it may suffice to state that to (a) all employes with fifteen or more years of service not eligible for pension and (b) all employes forty-five years or over of age with ten or more years' service the Company made a cash payment of one week's pay for every year of service. Only in one respect did the Company deviate from this simple policy. Three workers, who had already been compensated for partial disability resulting from accident in the plant, were included because of their handicaps, and given two weeks' pay for each year of service.

The plan was deliberately kept simple and easily understandable since an auxiliary purpose of the Company was to maintain morale during the closing weeks, and by this promise of a "square deal" to bolster up morale in all other plants. That the Company succeeded in this purpose was shown effectively not only by the still continuing loyalty of the displaced workers, but even more objectively. "Its practical evidence is the damage record at the New Haven factory. After the announcement of closing . . . the per cent of damage went down and the general standard of workmanship showed noticeable improvement. We cannot estimate in dollars and cents what was the direct return from the dismissal wage in lessened damage, scrap reduction, and waste elimination. If we could, we believe our dismissal wage bill would be materially lessened."

Roughly speaking, the Company at a cost of some hundreds of thousands of dollars thus provided for about one sixth of the total force, individual payments averaging about $500 per worker. The following table summarizes the payments made by the company during the year 1929:

Dismissal Wage Statistics for 1929

Factory	*Approx. No. displaced*	*No. paid*	*Lowest payment*	*Highest payment*	*Medium payment*
New Haven	800	116	$137.00	$2088.00	$425.00
Hartford	1150	126	253.00	1769.00	520.00
Boston No. 2	300	80	152.79	1381.21	455.00
Boston No. 1	950	187	104.61	1600.99	415.00
Total	3200	509	$104.61	$2088.00	

The following cases descriptive of what actually happened to the workers have, for convenience, been selected entirely from New Haven. (All names are fictitious.)

The first few cases are selected from those who received the dismissal wage to illustrate the need for some such mitigating device. Joe Nitti, for example, born in Italy, came to this country as a youth and started work with the company in 1890 at the age of seventeen. By conscientious, competent work he won advancement, until he has become a foreman in the packing department. In the meantime he has married, bought his own home, and reared a family. Now, after thirty-nine years of service with the company he finds himself ineligible for a pension and without a job. Two of his sons, who have also gone to work in the plant and who are themselves beginning to expect promotion, are being released at the same time. For them the shutdown, since they have so many eggs in the one basket, is nothing short of a family disaster. Must Joe at the age of fifty-seven, return to the ranks as an ordinary worker? Where will he find the concern willing to take on a foreman at his age? Where, in fact, will he find any job? From the Company's point of view he is not eligible for a pension, and they have no opening in which they can carry him for four or five years until he reaches the required age. They suggest moving him to another factory, but how can he pull up his roots in the city where he has lived for more than forty years? The best for which he can hope is that by persistent and patient effort he can finally obtain some job with the oppor-

[1] For an official statement of the Company policy and the reasons for its adoption see E. H. Little, The United States Rubber Company's Use of a Dismissal Wage, (American Management Association, Personnel Series No. 6, 1930). The present study was made possible by the cooperation of the Company, which, however, had nothing to do with the conduct of the investigation and shares no responsibility for our interpretation of the results.

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tunities he desires. In his case, therefore, the cash payment of about $1700 gives him about a year in which to make this readjustment.

Rose Carpenter, a native-born American, was sixteen years old when she first went to work for the Company in 1898. At the time of the shutdown she has finished thirty-one years' unbroken service. She received her training in the old craft of individual shoemaking which disappeared such a short time ago. She never wholly reconciled herself to the newer system of group work and has no chance whatever of adapting herself to the mechanized conveyor system now being installed. The shutdown ends her career as a rubber worker, and the support of her semi-invalid sister therefore becomes increasingly burdensome. The payment of $600 gives her some insurance while she seeks a new occupation. By way of anticipation we may state that after several industrial failures, she settled down as a hotel employe. Her earnings, unfortunately, are smaller but she has at least recaptured security.

Certain workers received a pension; others, a week's wages for each year of service

THE displaced workers' need for this kind of a consideration is obvious. It is more important to observe a few characteristic cases, illustrative of the extent to which the dismissal wage fulfilled its desired functions. First, however, it may be wise to make it clear that these payments were made by the company without any strings whatsoever, and that in some senses the use to which payments were put is a matter which really concerns only the workers themselves. The purpose of our survey is—without reference to "wise" or "unwise" expenditure—to discover, if possible, in what ways the dismissal wage was utilized and to what degree it succeeded in easing the readjustment.

Our investigator found Sam Albelli surrounded by children. Within a block of the factory where he had served twenty-five years, he sat "calm but desperate" in his cold, ill-furnished, front room. He had five rooms on the ground floor of a falling, two-story, barn-like shack. He was eager to talk. "Twelve kids and another next month. . . . Sure, $900. . . . All gone now." He had paid off some bills at the store but was again $200 in debt to one grocer and had been carried for the last two weeks by another who was pressing for payment. Electric-light bills were two months overdue and the current was about to be cut off. And the landlord was threatening dispossession. "Cost like hell, the doctors. Wife sick five years now but doctor say, 'You pay when can, you did before.' Frank [his eighteen-year-old son] laid off too, IXL Dairy, last July. We look every morning . . . at gates. No work nowhere." Two older daughters are working in shirt factories. Josie, aged nineteen, after five years earns only $10 a week. By working all day Saturday till 11:00 P. M. she can make a dollar or two extra. Susie, sixteen years, seldom averages $7 a week. She reports for work every morning, and returns immediately if there is none. This last week, for instance (spring 1930), she had had only one day's work—for 80 cents!

Sam's termination wage, therefore, was used to pay back debts and to supplement the earnings of his children, which were so pitifully inadequate for so large a family. Within two months after the Company shutdown he had obtained work of a somewhat similar kind in a leather shop at about $25 a week, but an attack of pleurisy laid him out from August to October and left another big doctor's bill behind. On recovery he was recalled to his job but was finally laid off in December 1929, just when he was beginning to get back on his financial feet. By the end of January 1930, the family had to apply for charity. The city generously furnished a $2 grocery order every week and gave him one half ton of coal. One of the private charities sends two quarts of milk daily but, as he says, even when diluted with an equal amount of water, this is not enough. "Cold here, need more coal. Miss Jones [case worker] say go too fast. Maybe I steal soon. When I go jail or dead then they look after kids." A mental maladjustment now begins to threaten and may intensify the tragedy, complicated by the early death of the thirteenth child. The dismissal wage indeed helped but could not carry all these added burdens.

Several workers used the dismissal wage to achieve long-standing ambitions of "going into business for myself." Tom Sangiovanni, a man of forty-seven with five children, used his $300 to open up a little grocery store. When he ran on credit nobody paid, when he demanded cash nobody bought, and he learned sadly that running any business is quite different from working for wages. He has exhausted his little capital and gone into bankruptcy. So did Mary Fanotto. Her little corner restaurant was a great hang-out for "the boys" but when they bought only coffee her profits proved quite visionary. Joe Vinci invested his $1400 in a truck and

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took his whole family to Texas with the vague intention of going into the express business. But he was imposed upon by scheming relatives there and is anxious to return to New Haven, by railroad, if he had the fare.

Mr. Billotti and Katie O'Grady are the rule-proving exceptions. With his $390 he opened up a shoemaking and shoe-repair shop. Leather, of course, is not rubber, but Billotti is skillful and will succeed. By choosing a wealthy neighborhood where he can charge good prices for good work he gave himself a real chance and now, with plenty of customers and one assistant, he is making more money than he ever made before. Katie O'Grady hasn't kept her sixteen-room lodging-house always filled, and some of her roomers are slow pay, but she squeezes out a fair living and may be rated as moderately successful.

THOSE who started businesses of their own were on the whole unfortunate. By nature and training, a wage-earner is apparently not fitted for business. The only successful ventures were those in which the worker, as in Billotti's case above, capitalized his training and skill. For women, rooming houses and even restaurants might fall in this class but it is safe to say that most of the business attempts were decidedly unwise.

It would be useless to multiply cases. All would illustrate mere variation on the general types portrayed above. In some happy cases, the dismissal wage was not all used to tide over a period of unemployment, or to supplement reduced earnings. Most of the workers deposited it in savings accounts, where in many cases it still remains. At the end of the year, if one may trust the workers' own reports, 20 per cent of the total payments remained accessible in liquid form. For the most part the dismissal wage, when used, was expended for ordinary household purposes. There is practically no evidence of undue "extravagance" and most certainly none that the receipt of this bonus deterred the average worker from seeking work, quickly, vigorously, and patiently.

At this point it may be well to turn for a moment to the other side of the picture. The great bulk of the New Haven workers received neither a dismissal wage nor a pension, and the amount of actual help that the Company was able to give, either in transferring them to other Company plants or in persuading other firms to give them a trial, was not as much as they had hoped. These workers simply had to fend for themselves and to meet the situation as best they could. The following selections will illustrate some of the more interesting problems faced by them.

In 1917 and in 1919, when each had reached the legal Connecticut working age of fourteen years, the two Cusatti girls, Jenny and Rose, started work in the rubber shop. Rose married three years later and suffered loss of service only at each successive childbirth, but Jenny worked straight through. Both girls were laid off in the shutdown. The family had been moderately prosperous; at least old Mr. Cusatti had saved enough to buy a three-family house, in which Rose and her husband (with four children) lived on the top floor, Mr. and Mrs. Cusatti (with six children, two of working age) on the second, while the street floor was rented for $25 a month to an outside family.

Following the shutdown, Jenny was able to find work; in the course of a year she held four different jobs, on the last of which she is still working. Taken as an individual she suffered a marked loss of income through short working time and generally severe reductions in wages, but at least she came out fairly well. Not so with Rose, whose efforts to find work were absolutely fruitless. Three months after the shutdown—to make a bad situation worse—her husband was laid off from his job, so that this family of six had no income whatever. Then, to cap the climax, old Mr. Cusatti, who himself had had a fairly good job, died in October. Funeral expenses were heavy and he had left them nothing but the house. By the middle of winter, conditions became desperate. The tenants on the ground floor moved out, Rose's family upstairs were without gas or electricity, and the whole household of thirteen, including Mrs. Cusatti and six of her children, were trying to live on $22 per week earned by Jenny and a younger sister.

At this low point in the family fortunes, an older brother returned home with the intention of helping. Out of his earnings in another city he had been unable to send much money home. But, since he was utterly unable to find the hoped-for job in New Haven he succeeding only in adding another hungry mouth. In desperation old Mrs. Cusatti herself set out looking for work and by good luck got a poorly paid job ($13 a week) in a toy factory. Rose, by this time, had become pregnant again and was now less helpful even at home. The condition of the house—with all adult women disabled or working—and of the four school children can easily be imagined. However, there was one last hope. Jenny had a fiancé. He was earning $25 a week as a shipping clerk. On the theory that fifteen people with an additional $25 could live better than fourteen without it, the young couple decided to get married and to occupy the vacant ground-floor apartment. The household can scarcely be termed prosperous, but the marriage, among other things, did bring in a steady income.

THE Paladini family consists of husband, wife, and three children. Mrs. Paladini, a son, and a daughter all worked at the rubber plant and were laid off together. The son, aged twenty, unable to find work, played around the streets, and finally one day was caught in the company of a youth who had tried to pass counterfeit money. Nick was arrested as an accomplice to the crime. The family mortgaged the house to get bail money, and will undoubtedly suffer heavy expense when the case comes to trial. Nick may thus have started a life of crime.

Not all cases, however, are as dark as these. Beth Lowell had spent practically the whole twelve years of her industrial life at the rubber factory. Immediately following the shutdown she obtained a job in a nearby plant, but the shock of discharge led her to think seriously of her future. Without any further delay, she enrolled in a secretarial school to learn stenography. She had kept this up for over a year and will soon receive her diploma. But for the shock of the closing, she might never have had the initiative to plan out her own future.

An even more striking case of advancement is that of Jane Eudake, to whom the shutdown gave the necessary stimulus for the capitalizing of her latent abilities. In the course of twelve years' industrial experience she had been recognized as a person of more than usual capacity. In fact, the Company at one time had given her a few months' trial as forewoman. She was not successful and, to the satisfaction of the management, asked to be transferred back to her old job at the bench. But at (*Continued on page* 513)

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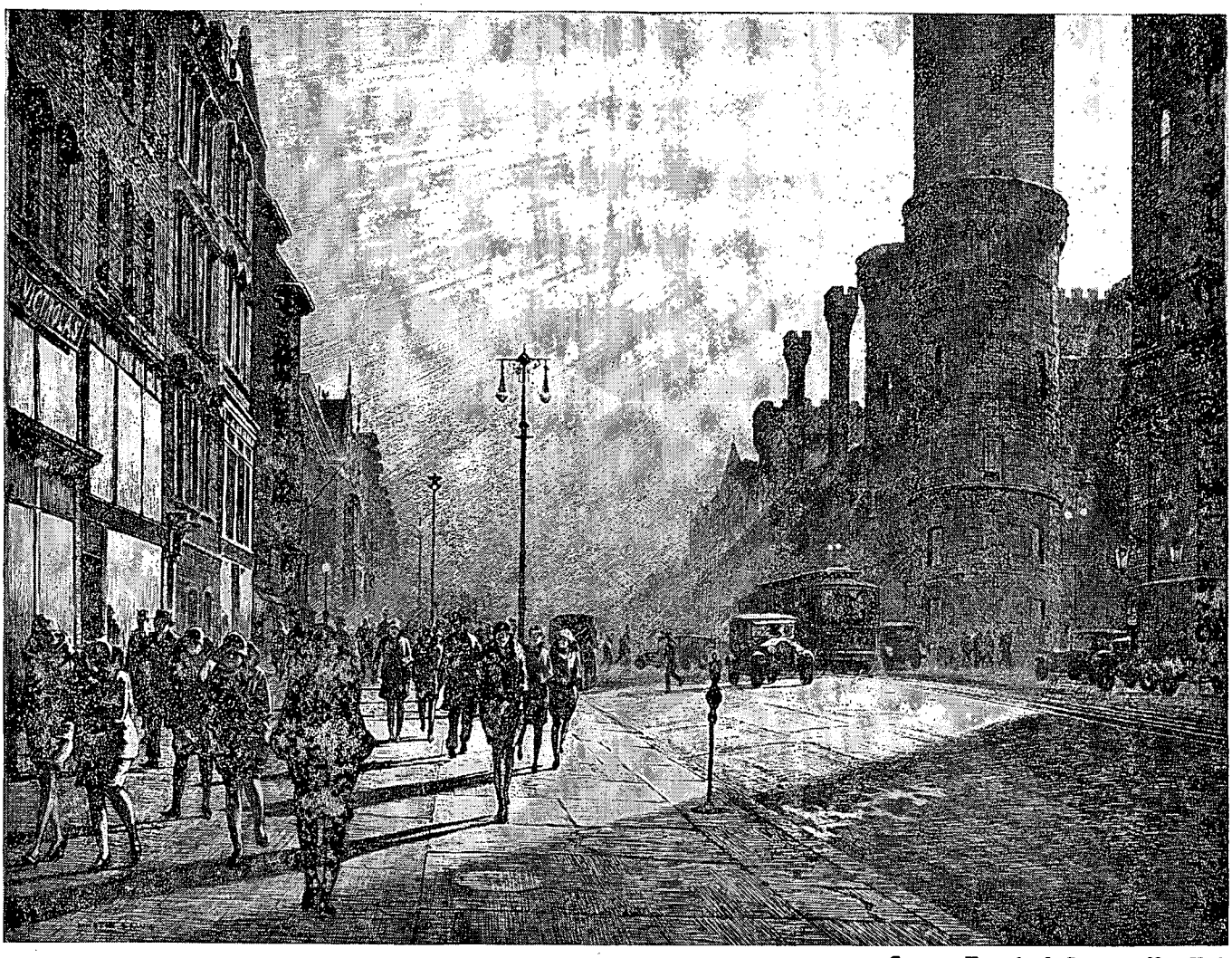

Courtesy Kennedy & Company, New York

QUARTER-OF-NINE—SATURDAY'S CHILDREN

Martin Lewis, Realist

THE other day I was in a studio whose great north windows framed a view of the tallest buildings in New York. On the easel and in every available space stood paintings of woods and sea, with never a human figure. Many artists, like my host, are spiritually only camping in a city studio; city windows merely serve to let in light. Martin Lewis, on the other hand, is one of those artists who live wholeheartedly in a modern metropolitan setting. But he is also more than "one of those." Other artists are stirred by the exceptional, unexpected glimpses of city beauty, by the picturesque or the grotesque—Lewis records the familiar, and behold, it *has* beauty. His many prints are concerned with nothing but what we can see with our own eyes, have seen when our perceptions were most quivering and aware. That, I should say, is the reason for the steady, sure growth in appreciation of his work: not that he is the perfect chronicler of our own time and urban setting, for most of us seek from art escape from the over-familiar; not that his prints are "good buys," since they will have value for tomorrow's elders as documents of departed days; but because Lewis's work stimulates—in the average man, and today—the sensations which give the greatest satisfaction, relish of the actual. He takes a composition-stone-front garage with autos filling up, temporary ramps and framework where excavations are being made, city unimproved lots—and makes them objects of art. He is fascinated by light, natural and artificial. His city streets are touched by the opalescent eastern sun, which all Saturday's children know as they hurry to work, or by the western glow; lightning scratches the narrow path of sky, or the snow rubs it like a smudged finger; street lights make gargantuan replicas. Human beings are part of each picture—workers, shoppers, loiterers, people glimpsed doing whatever they would be about at that particular time and place, in the clothes and the pose of the moment. Umbrellas? Martin Lewis makes those awkward mushrooms as esthetically right in a city street scene as he did gay paper parasols in prints he made half a dozen years ago in Japan. He will not deny a single thing that exists about us.

After all, his art does give us complete escape: it releases us from our individual concerns. It articulates for us, perpetuates, our fleeting moments of impersonal sight.—F. L. K

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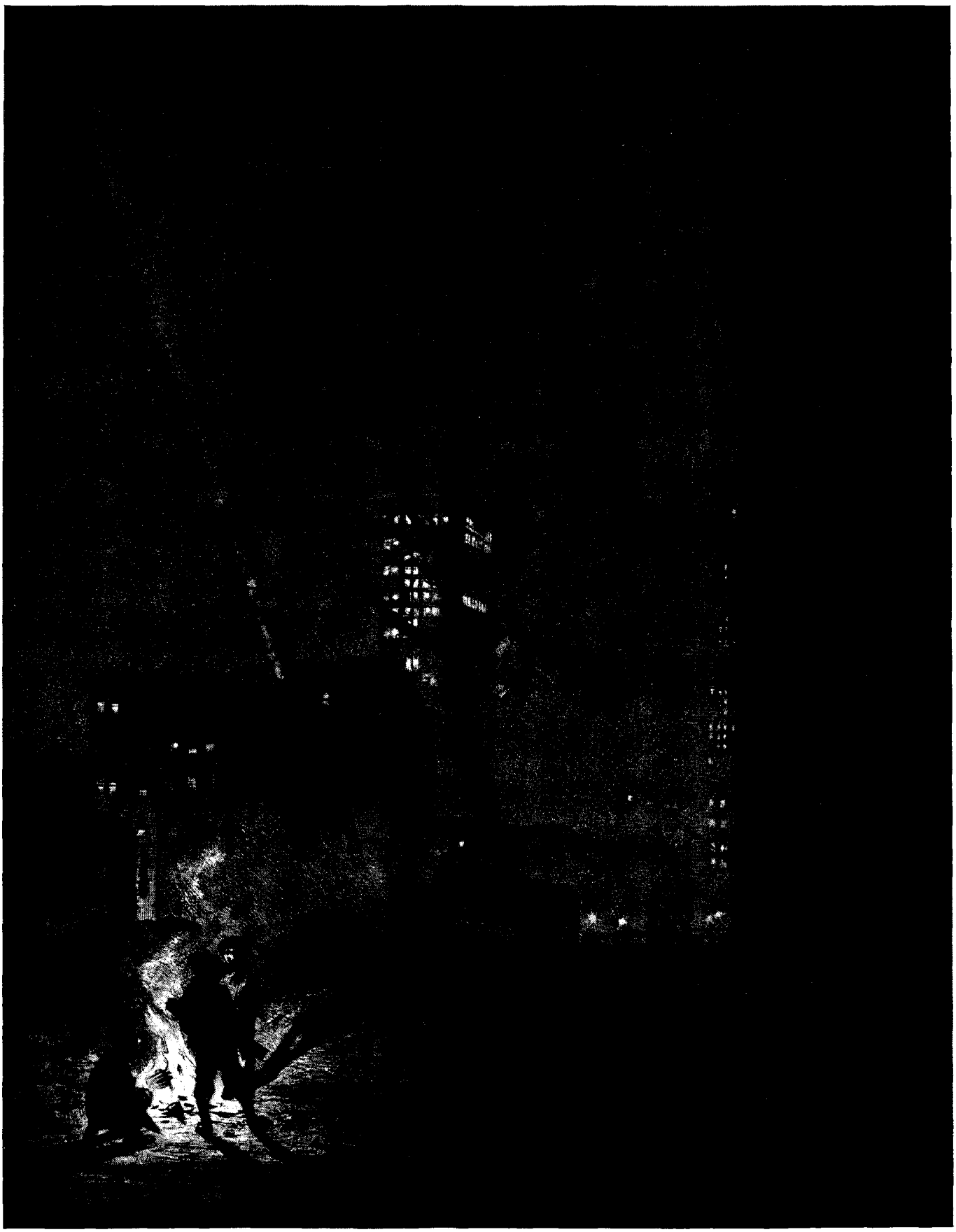

TREE, MANHATTAN

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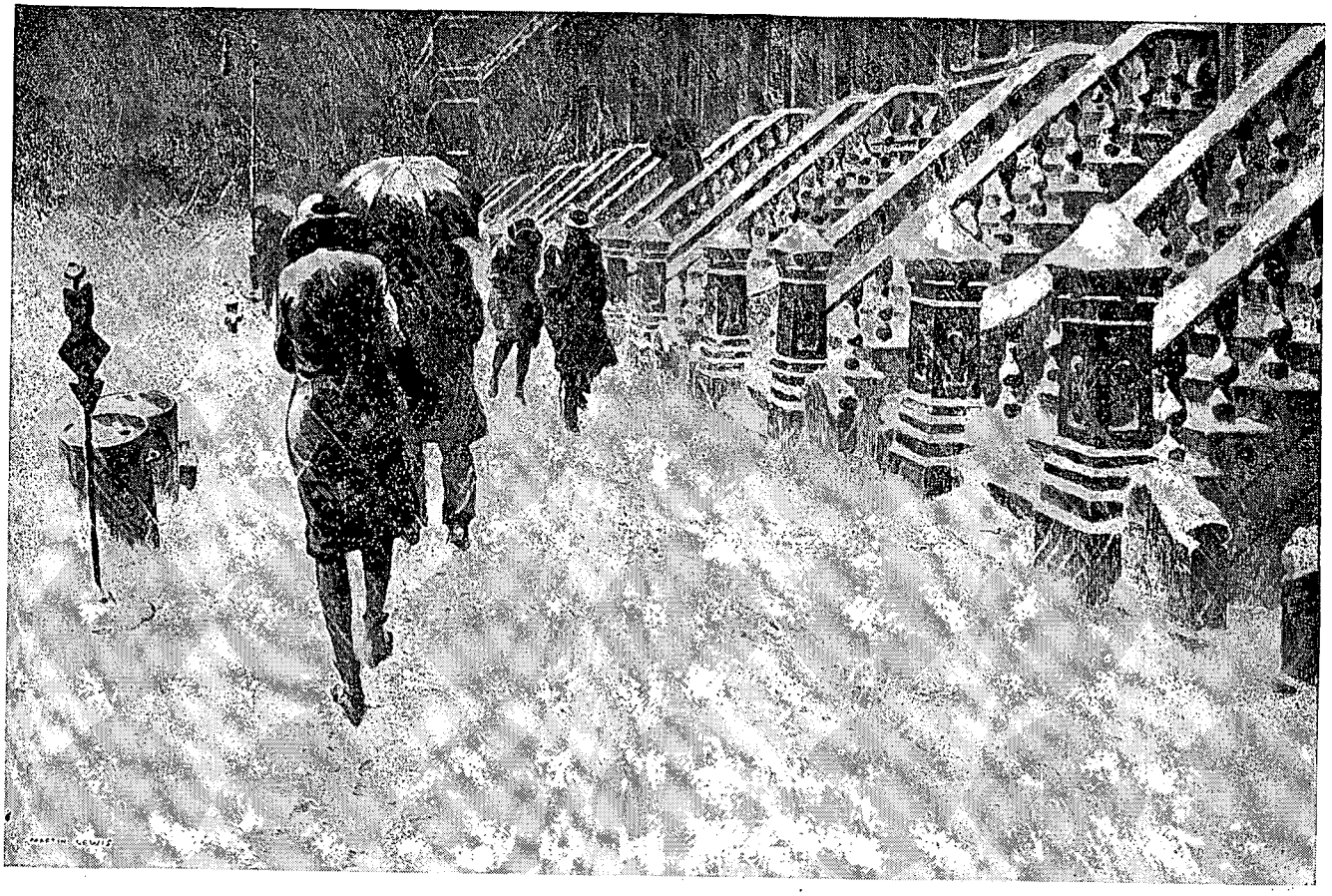

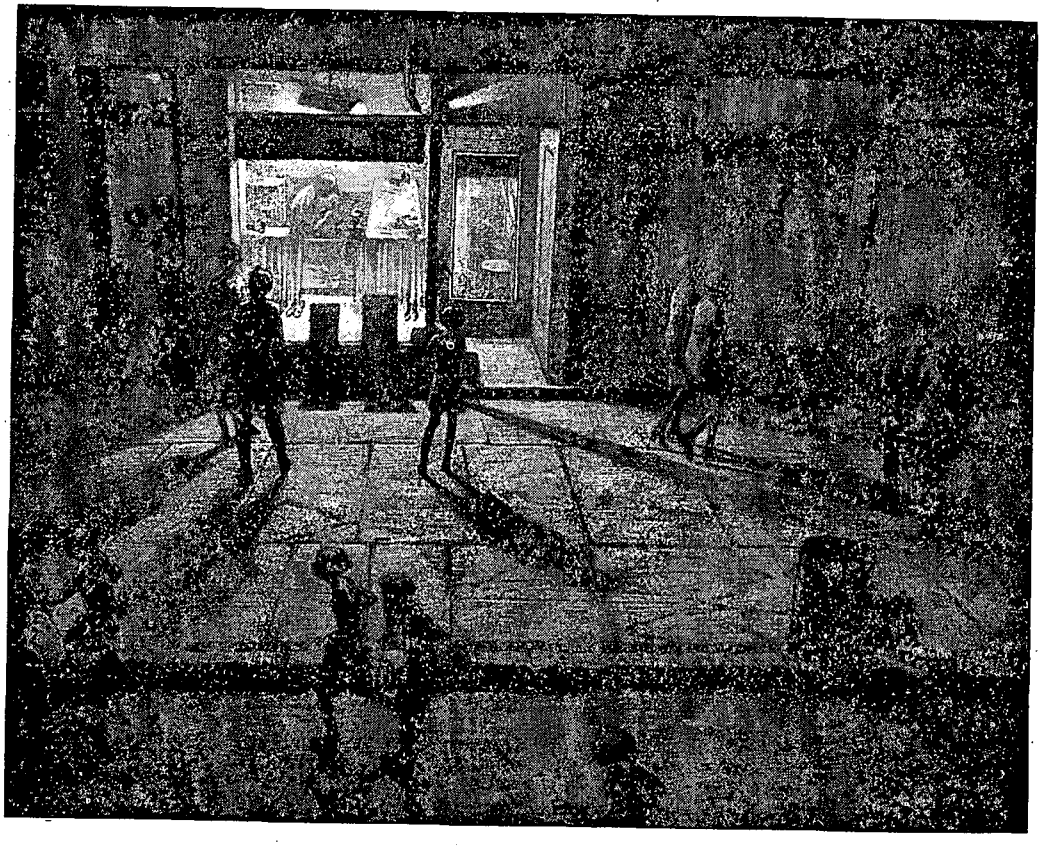

TOP: STOOPS IN SNOW. BELOW: SPRING NIGHT

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American Plans of Unemployment Insurance

By PAUL H. DOUGLAS

THE prolonged depression in which we now find ourselves has awakened many to the realization that we have made little progress during the last decade in lessening unemployment, that the only social protection which the unemployed now have is inadequate and humiliating grants of charitable relief and that some more self-respecting and universal type of protection is needed. Despite all the brave talk of stabilization, only a beginning has been made by business in lessening seasonal fluctuations of production and employment and this in the main only by industries producing more or less standardized goods. Where style factors are important, it is virtually impossible for firms to manufacture according to an even production schedule and to store a surplus in anticipation of the busy seasons since the goods may be outmoded by the time they are ready for sale. Nor is the possibility of developing side-lines a potent recourse in such cases since these are necessarily limited by the type of machinery and by the manufacturing and sales force. Moreover, the severe fluctuations of the weather in certain sections of the country will continue to make the building trades extremely seasonal in their operation and to drag in their wake those furnishing building materials.

Not only will a large amount of seasonal unemployment continue but unemployment caused by shifts in demand such as have worked havoc in recent years in the cotton, woolen, piano, stove, clothing, and coal-mining industries can also be expected to continue. Temporary technological unemployment, resulting from the improvement of machinery and of management will also displace workers for considerable periods of time in industries which are characterized by an inelastic demand for their product.

Most important of all is, of course, the fact that despite the development of business forecasting and the control over the price level which the Federal Reserve Board has been popularly assumed to possess through its rediscount powers and open market operations, the control of the business cycle is as far away as ever. Although only eighteen months ago many reputable economists apparently believed that business depressions were a thing of the past and that in the future only comparatively mild recessions would occur, the present world-wide depression bids fair to be both as prolonged and as severe as the average of those which have preceded it. Moreover, if the predictions of those who, like Edie, Cassell, Keynes and others, have studied the relationship between the rate of production of goods and of gold are correct, and the next decade should be one of slowly falling prices, we shall have longer periods of depression and shorter periods of prosperity than have characterized the last decade.

Even in good times there is unemployment, from fluctuating seasonal demands, changes in style, improved machines, the weather which interferes with winter building as it does with summer picnics. American business is beginning to face the fact that it would be good business to store up reserves in good times to take the place of pay envelopes, as it does other reserves to pay dividends. Here a professor of economics at the University of Chicago discusses the current proposals, particularly in Ohio, Wisconsin, New York, and Pennsylvania.

In the face of this great insecurity of employment, private industry has been able to erect only the most meager financial safeguards. According to the competent and exhaustive study of unemployment compensation plans by the Industrial Relations Counsellors, Inc., there were by the end of 1928 only about 114,000 workmen who were covered by these voluntary plans. About nine thousand of these were in eleven plans initiated by employers themselves, approximately thirty-five thousand in trade-union plans and about seventy thousand in joint plans of employers and unions together [see The Survey, April 1, 1929, page 57]. Since then the General Electric plan has come into operation but as this, at its maximum, probably does not cover more than seventy thousand workers, the total number now protected is not more than one hundred and ninety-five thousand [see The Survey, December 1, 1930, page 245].

THUS after a decade of experimentation, less than 1 per cent of the wage-earners of the country have found protection against the losses of unemployment. At this rate of progress, it would require over a thousand years for the voluntary plans to cover all the workers. Although I realize the danger of projecting a curve upon so short a base period, it is, I think, obvious that the progress of voluntary plans has been far too slow. While these plans have performed a valuable service in popularizing the idea of unemployment insurance and in working out many of the administrative problems which must necessarily arise under any system, their possibilities of growth are fundamentally limited by the unwillingness of firms to put themselves at a competitive disadvantage by assuming the burden of such charges. For this reason, therefore, it seems necessary that if adequate protection is to be given the unemployed it must be by government making the installation of such systems mandatory upon the industry. This, of course, need not mean that the actual administration of the system should be in the hands of the government itself.

Spurred on by these considerations and by the sight of the

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humiliating dole of private and public charity being offered all over the country, influential groups of men and women in various states are now coming to advocate the mandatory establishment of such systems. They point to the fact that the better-managed corporations now practice such a policy in respect to their stockholders. Whereas formerly corporations generally distributed nearly all their net earnings in periods of prosperity and were unable to meet their dividend payments in periods of depression, now by the accumulation of reserves in good times, the dividends are much more fully met in bad times. It is coming to be recognized that if this is a good policy for capital, it is also a good policy for labor and that reserves should be built up during the prosperous years which can be used to help stabilize the income of workers during the depression years.

The most important of the national groups which have been at work on the details of such a plan has been the American Association for Labor Legislation. As a result of a series of conferences extending over a period of months a suggested bill has been drafted which will undoubtedly be introduced into a number of state legislatures this winter. This plan, which is to be applicable to employers in all industries, other than agriculture, where more than five workers are employed, is modelled in the main upon the well-known Huber bill, originally drafted by Professor John R. Commons and presented several times to the Wisconsin legislature. It imposes the cost of the system in the main upon the employer, although the states are to bear the cost of administration and the way is supposedly left open for federal grants-in-aid to the various state funds. The cost is thus saddled upon the employers in the belief that if they are held financially liable for the payments, they will seek to reduce unemployment. To further this purpose, the administrative bodies in charge of the system are required to classify the industries into groups and to have set up in each a mutual insurance fund, managed by the employers, which will be responsible only for the unemployment charges in that industry. Individual employers who offer terms as good as or better than those provided under the act are permitted to make their payments directly to their workers and are not required to contribute to the fund. These various industries may also operate their own employment offices.

Drawing by Neysa McMein for The Women's Emergency Aid Committee of The Salvation Army

The benefits are to be paid only to those who have been laid off for lack of work and not to those who have been discharged for cause, have left of their own volition without reasonable cause, or are directly involved in a strike or lockout. The applicant must register at an employment office, managed either by the state or by an approved industry, and must wait for two weeks before the payment of benefits can begin. He is then eligible only if he has been employed in the state for at least twenty-six weeks during the two preceding years. He will then receive ten dollars a week (or 60 per cent of his full-time wages if this is lower) for not more than thirteen weeks during a calendar year, so that the maximum amount he can receive is $130 a year. These benefits will, moreover, not be paid in a greater ratio than that of one week for every four weeks of employment during the two preceding years.

Other drafts of unemployment insurance bills have been prepared by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and by the Socialist Party. The first originally called for exclusive contributions from the employers but this provision, it is understood, has recently been modified to permit of substantial grants by the state. The Conference for Progressive Labor Action draft follows that of the American Association for Labor Legislation in many respects but differs in the following ways. (1) The benefits are to be at the rate of 40 per cent of the employes' weekly wages, plus an additional 10 per cent for a wife, and a further 5 per cent for one dependent child, and 10 per cent for two or more children. (2) The waiting period is one week instead of two. (3) The benefits may be paid for twenty-six rather than thirteen weeks in any calendar year. (4) While the rates paid by industries and firms will vary according to the relative amount of unemployment which characterized them, there are not to be separate employers' mutuals, but one central fund.

The draft by the Socialist Party, as might be expected, leans still further to the left. One-half of the contributions are to made by the state and raised by means of progressive income and inheritance taxes with the remainder contributed by the employers. The basic benefits are to be 50 per cent of the wage instead of the 40 per cent provided in the Conference for Progressive Labor Action draft, but the same additions are provided for wives and children. The minimum is, however, to be $12 a week and the maximum $25. No limit is placed upon the period of

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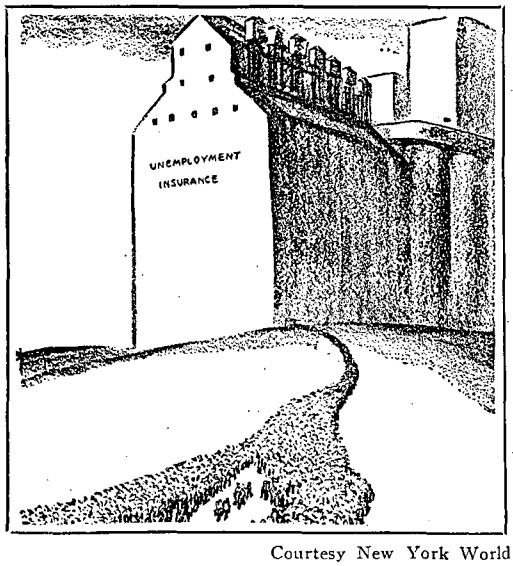
time during which the benefits are to be paid and the premiums are to be increased by the board which is to administer the act, according to the financial necessities of the system.

While the bills which have been mentioned have primarily been drafted in New York, by national organizations, there are fortunately several states which are at work on their own plans. In Wisconsin, it is understood that Professor Harold M. Graves of the State University, who is to be the Progressive leader in the state Senate, is planning to introduce a bill which in many of its features is like the Huber bill but which calls for joint contributions by workers as well as employers.

In Ohio, a strong group organized by the Consumers' League and headed by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver has been studying the whole question for months in a most detailed and intelligent manner with the result that a bill drafted by Marvin C. Harrison, a Cleveland attorney, and calling for joint contributions by both workers and employers is to be introduced in the legislature. The Ohio bill provides for benefits equal to 50 per cent of the earnings instead of flat-rate sums specified in the proposal of the American Association for Labor Legislation. The administration of this plan is given to a joint board of three on which the workers and the employers each have a representative. While separate employers' mutuals are not provided, the premium rates which the employers are to pay will be varied according to the amount of past unemployment in that firm or industry. It is provided in the present draft of the bill, however, that the maximum contribution of any employer is not to exceed 2 per cent of his total wage bill, although this may be increased in a later draft to 3 per cent. The contributions of the workers are, however, uniform between industries at 1½ per cent. Another and very interesting feature of the Ohio bill is that it provides benefits for part-time work when the actual work offered by employers falls below 75 per cent of the full-time work.

In Michigan, where the ups and downs of the automobile industry have worked special havoc, an Unemployment Insurance League was formed under the direction of Harry Slavin. It campaigned unsuccessfully last year for an amendment to the state constitution providing for the establishment of unemployment insurance. It is now drafting a bill based on the contributory principle.



Courtesy New York World

The Fat and the Lean Years

Turning to the eastern states, we find interest in unemployment insurance particularly strong in Pennsylvania and New York. When Governor-elect Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania called his Committee on Unemployment together before his inauguration, he outlined as one of the most important topics for them to investigate the problem of "stabilizing the wage-earners' incomes in periods of unemployment." A sub-committee of Pittsburgh is now actively at work on this question although it is, of course, too early to predict what recommendations will finally be made. Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York has on two occasions publicly declared himself to be in favor of unemployment insurance. The first of these statements was made before the Conference of Governors at Salt Lake City, while the second was before the last convention of the New York State Federation of Labor. Realizing the importance of inter-state action to protect the pioneering states from being placed at a competitive disadvantage with others, Governor Roosevelt has called a conference of the governors of six industrial states, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio, for January 23 to consider the whole problem of unemployment insurance. The minimum result which is hoped for from this conference is a united agreement to carry forward a cooperative investigation by the several states of the problem of insurance. It is also hoped that as a result of the conference some of the governors may decide to push for the enactment of actual legislation in their states.

IN addition to these movements, which are necessarily directed toward action by the states, attention is also being drawn towards the ultimate necessity of federal grants as a means of stimulating the states to take action and of maintaining a certain degree of uniformity between them. The People's Lobby headed by Professor John Dewey and Benjamin C. Marsh, is already proposing that Congress appropriate $100,000,000 for this purpose, and the Conference for Progressive Labor Action has drafted a skeleton measure to this effect. Senator Wagner of New York, who ever since he assumed office has shown an informed and consistently concerned interest in unemployment, is drawing up and sponsoring in Congress a series of three bills on the subject. The first, which has been already introduced, aims to encourage voluntary funds by exempting all contributions whether by employer or worker from federal taxation. The second calls for federal appropriations to the states equal to one third of the amounts contributed by any state to unemployment insurance funds. The third calls for the creation of a congressional committee to study unemployment insurance at home and abroad.

It is possible that out of this ferment something may come this winter. In any event, whether or not definite legislative acts are passed, it is apparent that the current breakdown of production and employment is very rapidly awakening people to a lively discontent with our present lack of social protection against unemployment. All the signs of the times point toward a great forward movement in the field of unemployment insurance which may well be far more significant than the workmen's compensation movement of two decades ago. But the battle has only begun and the issue is still in the balance.[1]

[1] Copies of the various bills may be obtained from the American Association for Labor Legislation, 131 East 23 Street, New York City; the Consumers' League of Ohio, 341 Engineers' Building, Cleveland, and the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York.

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DOLE-ITIS

By CHARLES MORRIS MILLS

THE Great War again rages in Europe. Ballots have been substituted for bullets and bombs! Bread has replaced booty. The battle-front includes almost every land. More than eight million men are enrolled in the various armies, over four million alone in Germany and two million in England. Entire populations are affected by the ravages of war. Every man, woman, and child is being taxed for munitions. For this is the Great War of Unemployment.

The latest comuniques are not encouraging. England (and by England I mean, throughout this article, England, Wales, Scotland and Ulster as covered by the law) votes another $50,000,000 to finance the deficit of unemployment; in Italy the forces of the idle increase 25 per cent in one month; in Germany heavier contributions by employer and employe are enforced by the chancellor with the hope of reducing governmental expenditures; in Russia all idle are compelled to work by governmental decree. How are the nations fighting in the war? What weapons are being used? What can we in America learn from the present situation?

In the first place we must place ourselves in the position of Europe. We must approach the question with sympathy and understanding. We must remember that Europe has been fighting the Great War of Unemployment more or less intermittently for years. We must be fair in our criticism of unemployment insurance and dole systems and distinguish between them. We must be sure that if we had been placed in the same situation we would have done differently.

As far as England and Germany are concerned, the original establishment of unemployment insurance laws was an effort to face an acute situation. A nation's first responsibility is to keep her people from destitution and starvation. The primary reason for legislation was to relieve far-flung distress and poverty caused by involuntary idleness—relief that could not be gotten by poor laws or charity.

Secondly, these systems were adopted to prevent radical and revolutionary changes in social systems. In England it may be said the dole was the price paid for security against extreme socialism and possible revolution; in Germany, coming after the revolution which overthrew the monarchy, the dole was the price paid for security against bolshevism. As Rudolf Hilferding, ex-Socialist finance minister, said: "Unemployment support is an insurance premium against revolution."

With these two purposes there can be no disagreement. If we had been faced with the identical situation, presumably we would have followed somewhat the same course of action. However, the experience of England and Germany should point out certain lessons for us in studying possible solutions in our present-day problem of unemployment.

From Kunst und Leben, 1931

Out of Work

ORIGINALLY conceived by governmental leaders as insurance on a sane and practical basis, the English law today is intermingled with relief or dole, is administered weekly, and is exerting a malignant influence on national psychology. When insurance became bankrupt, when indiscriminate relief was stacked upon it, when huge loans to insurance funds were voted by the government, the germ of dole-itis was born. The disease is of two kinds: individual and governmental. The symptoms appear in the individual when he takes the attitude that it is better to draw the dole than to work. The germs are manifest in the government when it votes huge sums for unemployment *relief* or dole rather than devising constructive plans for unemployment *prevention*.

Dole-itis, even more than unemployment itself, breeds physical, mental, and moral depression. It is in itself an effect as well as a cause. Its growth has been promoted by world-wide and domestic decline in business, by lack of available work, by fear of possible social revolution, by beggar psychology. It vitiates the pride of craftsmanship descended from the guilds of the Middle Ages. It destroys the spirit inherited from intrepid pioneers who founded a vast Colonial Empire. Yet there are many who play the fiddle while Rome burns. They seem to feel that they can "muddle through," that a change must be "just around the corner," that some leader will arise to pull them out of the present morass. Yet as Sir William Beveridge, England's leading economist, has recently said, "Unemployment remains in 1930 as in 1909, a problem of industry, not an act of God."

In Germany, the chief cause of dole-itis, according to leading industrialists, has been the abuses of both unemployment and sickness laws. They state that a workman can more or less easily claim sickness as a forerunner to an an-

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nounced lay-off. In this manner, he may claim his twenty-six weeks of sickness benefit, prior to the dole. As an example, they cite the recent case in Wiesbaden. This city decreed that all who drew the dole must do public labor. As a result, 28 per cent voluntarily relinquished all claims; 22 per cent further claimed sickness, but medical examination proved only 5 per cent really ill. Thus a 45 per cent reduction in the dole was effected.

The industrialists further cite Prof. Von Haberer of Düsseldorf who reported at the Congress of Surgeons that compulsory sickness insurance "seemed to produce imaginary illness and paralyze the will to health." The non-insured seemed to recover quicker than the insured.

In support of this criticism there is cited the increasing cost of sickness insurance which in 1924 amounted to $269,750,000 and rose steadily each year to $562,500,000 in 1929. The latter sum is $50,000,000 more than the average annuity due under the Young Plan.

The Labor Government and Dole-itis

PARLIAMENT passed four acts in the 1929-30 session. The first increased the Exchequer share to 50 per cent of the amount contributed by employer and worker; the second increased the benefit rates for persons aged seventeen, eighteen, and nineteen as well as the rate for adult dependents. This act also repealed the provision that a claimant must prove he "is genuinely seeking work but unable to obtain suitable employment." The debate in the Commons upon this item brought out the argument that it was "beneath the dignity of a British workman" to be forced to prove he has really sought a job.

As one industrialist said to the writer, "Now a man can send his boy to an industrial commission to get his unemployment book stamped while he waits outside the door of the 'pub' for the morning opening. We are helpless to do anything. Labor is in the saddle. They have the votes of the people who benefit by the law. We pay the taxes and other fellows spend the money." On the other hand, as a result of investigation by the Royal Commission in 1930 on this controversial point, there was no question that it was ridiculous to require men to prove they had been genuinely seeking work in certain districts where no work had been available for years, as in Lancashire. But even where work has not been available for years, this situation destroys more than ever the urge to seek work in other places or industries.

Two acts raised the Treasury limit for borrowing for loans to the unemployment fund first to $250,000,000 then to $300,000,000. On December 1, the limit was raised to $350,000,000. The discussion accompanying the last act showed the debt of the fund to be $280,000,000. The total annual cost of unemployment insurance was set at $535,000,000. Of this amount $70,000,000 is paid by employed persons, $80,000,000 by employers, and $385,000,000 by taxation. The debt payment by Great Britain to us is $160,000,000, between one third and one fourth of the amount spent on unemployment insurance. Yet one hears in England so frequently the argument that "if America would cancel the debt, we could more adequately take care of our own people."

The above analysis of costs succinctly points out the dangers that accompany the formation of national compulsory unemployment insurance on a tripartite basis, with contributions from the employer, the employe, and the state. Originally the English law placed the state contribution at 33⅓ per cent. Today it is 50 per cent. In addition, the state bears the entire deficit.

In the total annual cost of $535,000,000, it is estimated that $110,000,000 is paid to some 350,000 persons not actuarially qualified by law. The payments are known as "transitional" benefits. Strictly speaking, these costs are the "dole" or relief. Yet they are included in unemployment insurance costs. Today the English law, therefore, does not discriminate between insurance benefits and relief.

Other Weaknesses in the British Law

NOT only have new groups been admitted to the provisions of the law, not only have costs increased enormously, but certain provisions have been allowed to stand which threaten the economic stability of the law. In the original law the maximum period of benefit was fifteen weeks. Now benefits continue as long as unemployment lasts!

Benefits and contributions are classified solely on the basis of age, sex, and marital status. There is no differentiation between a skilled mechanic and a common laborer. Highly trained craftsmen in shipbuilding on the Clyde are treated the same way as dock laborers in London. Skilled weavers from the Midlands receive the same benefits as hotel porters in Glasgow or Edinburgh.

The most serious defect in the law apparently is the closeness of the amount of the dole to prevailing wages. A workman, eligible under the law, receives seventeen shillings benefit weekly. If married, he receives nine shillings additional for an adult dependent. For each minor child he receives two shillings. Thus, if he is married with two children, he gets altogether thirty shillings, *indefinitely*. The prevailing scale for farm labor last summer was thirty shillings also. Many farmers complained that they could not get sufficient labor. In some sections crops were actually burned because farmers were unable to gather them. In a land where there is the highest percentage of unemployment to population, there was actually labor shortage!

It is further claimed that this situation is particularly true in families able to pool earnings or dole. The total income from combined doles from all breadwinners in the same family is claimed to so closely approach regular income that there is no incentive to work. Thus dole-itis begins to eat into the national fiber, stultifies initiative, deadens aggressiveness. No wonder is it that overseas schemes for inducing emigration to Canada, Australia, and elsewhere did not meet with success even before there was restrictive legislation. It is further claimed that the insurance system puts a premium on labor stability. Not alone do the young people refuse the opportunity for development in new lands, but it is nigh impossible to get the unemployed to move from one village to the next in order to get regular employment. Schemes for moving workers from one section to another have been almost a total failure, partly because of unwillingness to move on the part of the men and partly because of unwillingness to receive them on the part of the communities.

The German Situation

LAST spring the political party in power, commonly known as the Center, was unable to rally sufficient strength to get national budgets approved. Among the items was the deficit for unemployment credits. In 1929 the total cost of

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Questions Americans Should Face on the Basis of German and English Experience

1. Should unemployment insurance be compulsory as in England and Germany or voluntary?
2. Should insurance include contributions from employer and employe equally as in Germany or from employer, employe, and the state as in England?
3. Should such insurance be administered by national and state governments or by private enterprise?
4. Should such insurance be underwritten on an actuarial basis like group insurance or workmen's compensation or merely paid from accumulated funds developed on a non-actuarial basis?
5. Should such insurance be applied nationally on a flat basis for all industries as in England and Germany or should it differentiate the amount of risk of unemployment in various industries?
6. Should benefits and contributions be based on a sliding scale of wages as in Germany or on a flat basis as in England?
7. Should relief be included in insurance as in England or be paid from other sources?
8. Should insurance include a maximum period of payments or be unlimited as in England?
9. Should the maximum benefits approach or equalize the amount of prevailing wages?

unemployment insurance was $376,000,000. Employers and employes sharing equally contributed $217,250,000. The deficit created amounted to $158,750,000. Upon requesting that the latter amount be credited to unemployment insurance, Chancellor Bruning and his party met defeat. The history of the September elections is well known, resulting in large gains for the Communists on the left and the Fascists under Adolf Hitler on the right. The latter group become the second largest in the Reichstag.

It was the good fortune of the writer to be present in Germany during the election period. One scene in a city in southern Germany can never be forgotten—a great parade of thousands of Communists on one side of the city, while in another section came the Fascists with brown shirts, swastikas, the Fascist salute. The latter provided the real fireworks with "spellbinders," bands, torches, youthful enthusiasm. It is said that 90 per cent of the Fascist vote was from young people under twenty-five years of age. Anyway they had the "pep," the zest, the power of youth.

Then, too, Hitler—a medium-sized man, of wiry build, burning fire in his eyes, a soap-box orator—just the type needed to gather up the fanciful ideals of youth by Bryan methods. "We must make Germany for Germans. Away with the traitors, the Jews, the Catholics. We want a race of all fair-haired men with blue eyes and firm lips who will throw out our enemies. Away with our jailors—away with the Allies—away with the Young Plan. Put Germany back in her place in the sun."

A firebrand but not a dictator. A troublemaker but not a statesman. A salesman but not an executive. No Wilson, Mussolini, or Stalin characteristics. A man to appeal to the half generation grown up since the war who know not its sufferings, its penalties, its sacrifices. A man who could never be relied upon by the sober middleclass Germans or stolid industrialists.

It is difficult to picture such a man in the chancellor's chair or at the head of the dominant political party in power. It is hard to see how such a man could master cleavages, left and right, within his own party—a process inherently German which has not yet occurred in the Fascist group. No, one cannot believe that he is the "fair-haired boy," "the wonder maker," "the Miracle Man" of the future in Germany. Yet his power and influence must be recognized. He has created a party of opposition annoying beyond measure to the solid business groups which are patiently and honestly seeking to bring Germany out of her difficulties.

Twice since the September elections Hitler has met serious defeat. Chancellor Bruning rallied enough support in October and again in December to put through far-reaching economic and fiscal reforms. These reforms enacted by presidential decree under Article 48 of the German Constitution before the meeting of the Reichstag could have been annulled by the legislators. But Bruning had sufficient strength to win. Sound government has been saved for Germany for the present at least.

Two important measures with reference to unemployment and wages were passed. The total amount of payroll to be deducted for unemployment insurance was increased from 4½ per cent to 6½ per cent, with the hope that this would relieve the government from paying such large deficits as in past years. It is a question now whether German industry and German workers can meet this new burden. Anyway it is a gesture in the right direction.

The second measure reduced official salaries 6 per cent with the announcement that prices would be reduced accordingly. This experiment to make reduction of the cost of living along with wages is being watched with great interest. The cartels are making every effort to maintain prices or check declines. Some astonishing changes have already taken place. Bread has been reduced from 12 to 11 cents with an estimated saving nationally of $23,000,000. Wholesale meat has been reduced 20 per cent, with a saving on pork alone of $40,000,000. Price reductions in Berlin include coal, 6 per cent; lumber, 17-20 per cent; cement, 10 per cent; tiles, 35 per cent; branded foodstuffs, 5-20 per cent; rubber tires, 10 per cent.

Proposed Reforms in England

THE proposed cures of the unemployment crises in England range from birth control and reduction of overpopulation by compulsory emigration to monetary reform and protection! Most of the leading economists—all of whom are believers in unemployment insurance—have some distinct remedies for the larger problem of unemployment. Sir William Beveridge in his new edition of Unemployment, the most authoritative book on the subject, believes that the situation is serious because it demoralizes governments, employes, and trade unions, so they take less thought for the prevention of unemployment. "A state which undertakes to relieve adequately and indefinitely from a bottomless purse all the unemployed, will soon find itself subsidizing the manufacture of unemployment unless it adopts counter measures." He advocates the rearrangement of labor exchanges, reorganization of the labor market, and increasing the mobility of labor. G. D. H. Cole, known for his advocacy of Guild Socialism, charges the Labour Government with neglect in not putting the unemployed to work cleaning up England. He suggests a volunteer army of the unemployed to be set to work on slum clearance, school building, water resources, land development, and the like. He says: "Unemployment is a national misfortune, but (*Continued on page* 525)

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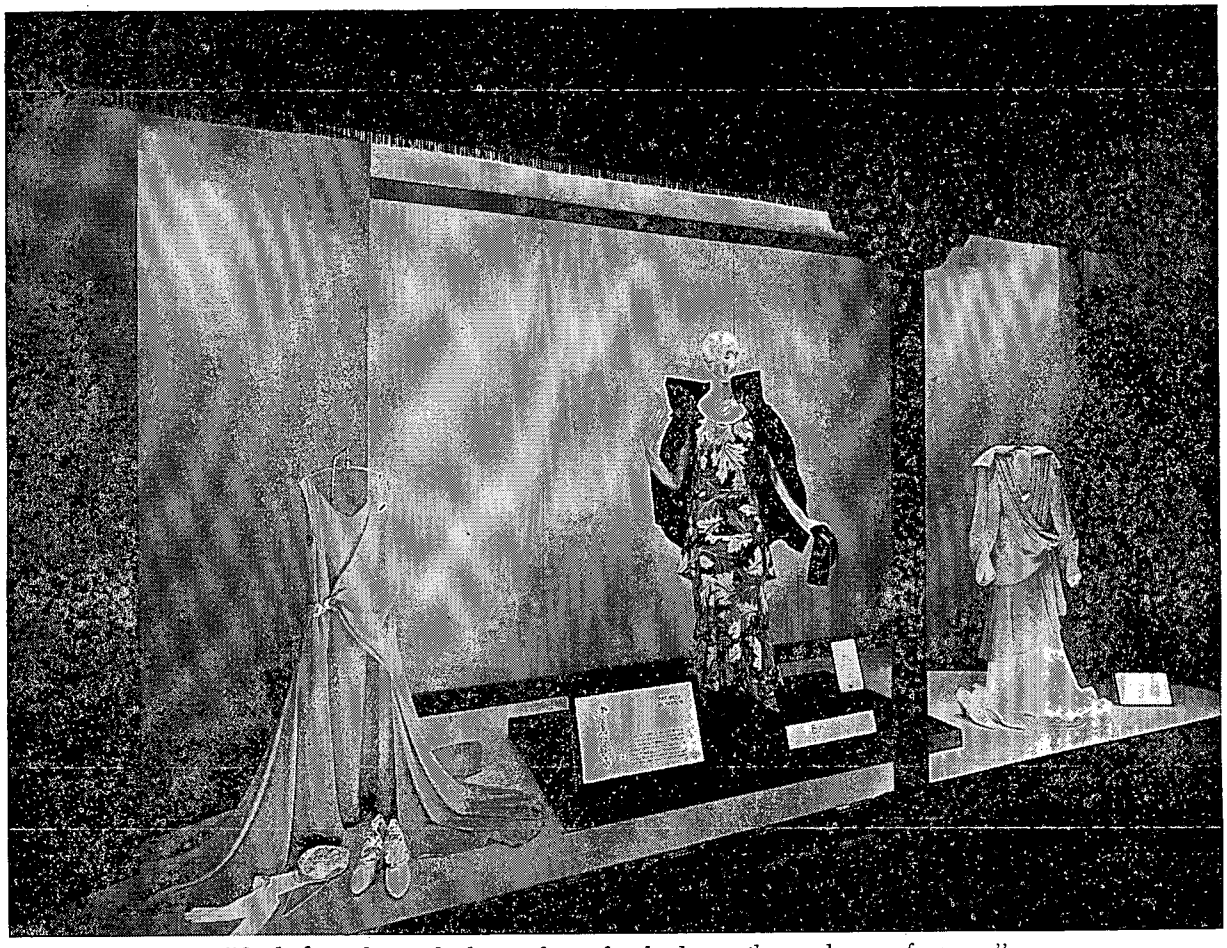

"Style has always had two faces for both retailer and manufacturer"

A Merchant Looks at Stabilization

By A. LINCOLN FILENE

EVERY wage-earner is a spender. Every idle worker represents a deduction from purchasing power. When industrial employment is good, retail sales increase. When employment goes down, the merchant's income goes with it. Granted that for purely selfish reasons the retailer would like to see steady work for wage-earners, can he give effective help to industry in preventing unemployment? My own belief, shared by many other retailers, is that he can.

The form of unemployment which most continuously disturbs business is seasonal unemployment. When the manufacturer's sales curve and the level of production fluctuates sharply with the seasons, it means that his factory and selling organization are operating uneconomically. Producing below factory capacity, turning out goods in small lots and at irregular intervals, means higher production cost than when goods are made up in large lots. Reduced operation in dull seasons increases the ratio of overhead to productive labor, and may mean the permanent loss of trained operators. A seasonal slump in sales is detrimental to the morale of both salesmen and dealers. Moreover, many of the costs of the sales organization go on in the face of declining volume.

Prior to 1920 the merchant, although his own business was highly seasonal (and I am now referring principally to department stores and stores selling wearing apparel), was willing to give orders well in advance of the season. The depression of 1921 caught many retailers with inflated inventories which they were obliged to dispose of at a loss. This brought about a mood of caution which gradually grew into that almost universal reluctance to place orders in advance of current demand which is known as hand-to-mouth buying. The retailer, somewhat more slowly than the manufacturer, had also been learning the advantage of a quicker turnover of merchandise and capital. Systems of unit control of merchandise have helped the merchant keep basic stocks at levels which facilitate turnover. In the old days, wholesalers could always be relied upon for advance orders. Now that direct dealing between manufacturer and merchant has become so common, this prop has been considerably worn away.

Since the war, style, always a potent factor in wearing apparel, has spread its influence in ever widening circles. I do not need to list here the many industries in which color, design, or some other element of fashion, has come to be recognized as an important, sometimes the all-important factor in increasing sales. Once upon a time, it was only the grand lady who demanded style in her clothes and in her home. Today the humblest person, economically speaking, imitates the styles adopted by people of means. Fortunately

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for the wage-earner's wife, the lower manufacturing costs of many commodities have brought such gratifications within the reach of limited pocketbooks.

Style has always had two faces for both retailer and manufacturer, a smiling face when the fashion has been correctly picked, and a gloomy face when the merchant's or the manufacturer's guess has been wrong. The effect of the growing demand for style has been to intensify the retailer's disinclination to give advance orders. At present the retailer's policy is to extend hand-to-mouth buying to more and more commodities. It is only on staple items that he dares order in advance and the number of staple items is decreasing as the influence of style increases.

The manufacturer, striving to get advance orders for the sake of economical manufacture and stable employment, is confronted by the retailer who is afraid to give such orders lest they result in business losses. This would seem to be a pretty discouraging outlook for regularization. Two factors brighten it: first, the retailer suffers economic loss by reason of unemployment; and second, he suffers loss when the manufacturer's costs of operation are heavier. In other words, if the merchant can see his way clear to giving advance orders without impairing his chances of rapid turnover or adding to his risk of purchasing commodities that will not be in style, it is to his selfish interest to do so. Not all retailers appreciate this fact, but the leaders do and what the leaders achieve the others are bound to imitate sooner or later.

Are there any hopeful signs now on the horizon, as far as the behavior of retailers is concerned, which should make it easier for the manufacturer to operate on a less seasonal basis?

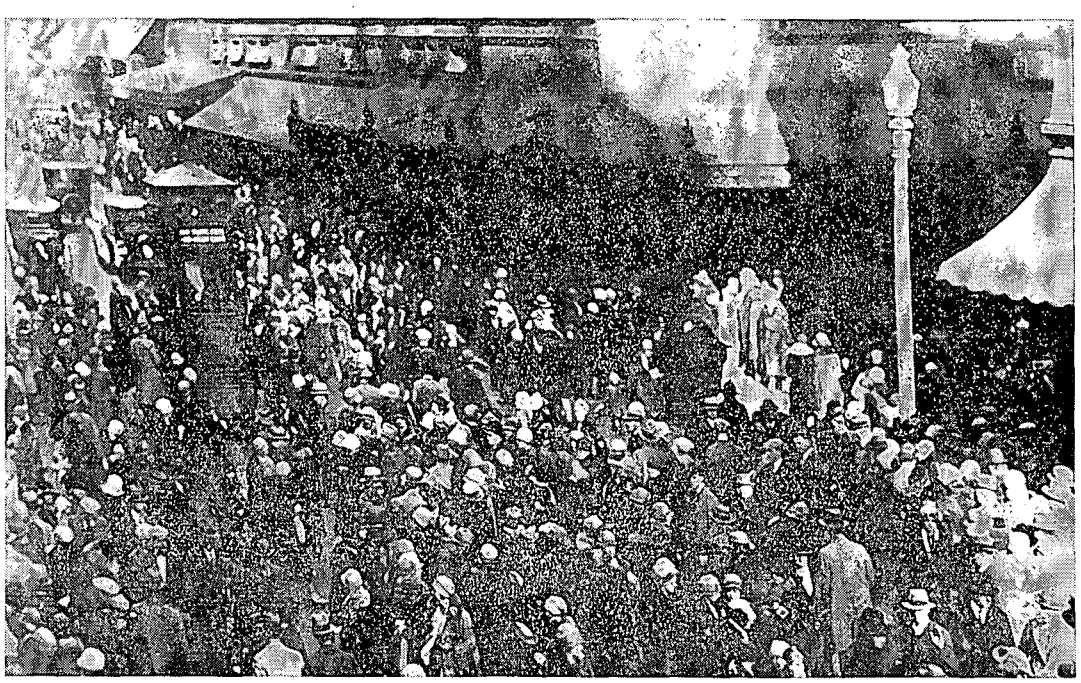
In the course of a recent investigation into the regularization of seasonal business, Edwin S. Smith directed an inquiry to representative department stores, chain stores and mail order houses to find out just how they felt on this subject of advance ordering. The study, which will appear shortly in book form, was sponsored by five New England business men, of whom I was one. The other were Henry S. Dennison, president of the Dennison Manufacturing Company; John H. Fahey, publisher of The Worcester Evening Post; Henry P. Kendall, president of The Kendall Company; and J. Franklin McElwain, president of the J. F. McElwain Company. The replies the merchants made to Mr. Smith's inquiry are not on the surface particularly encouraging, yet they do give evidence of one tendency at least which may greatly assist regularization in the future.

The information from chains, including five-and-ten-cent stores and wearing-apparel chains, indicates that they order more types of articles in advance than do department stores, and often many months in advance. The chief reason for this is that chains, ordering in bulk, must place orders considerably in advance to make sure of prompt deliveries when the merchandise is needed. Again, chains deal more in staple items than do department stores. The more nearly articles ordered by chains approach the category of style merchandise, the less willing the chains are to give advance orders for them. Finally, some chains, according to the letters received by Mr. Smith, seem to have been impressed by the fact that advance ordering makes possible better workmanship and packing because work done during the manufacturer's less busy time does not have to be rushed.

Like chain stores, mail order houses buy goods in very large quantities. Furthermore, these goods must all have been ordered many months in advance of the season when they are sold to the consumer, since it is necessary to have them both pictured and accurately described in the catalogs.

As reported in a recent article in Printers' Ink, there are more than 8200 chains in the United States, operating 210,000 stores which in 1929 did a retail business of $8,525,470,000, or 18.9 per cent of the total retail trade of the country. Their volume of purchases in many lines offers the manufacturer a substantial backlog of advance orders. Department-store buying groups and mergers, which buy goods in larger lots than individual stores, are also obliged to do a good deal of advance ordering to insure prompt delivery and proper workmanship.

The principal reasons already mentioned for the reluctance of department stores to abandon hand-to-mouth buying are brought out again and again in the replies to our inquiry. In general, when goods are reported as ordered a substantial period in advance, it is a matter of necessity rather than cheerful acquiesence on the part of the merchant. Imported articles must, of course, be ordered well ahead of the season, as must those on which the process of manufacture is slow. On other kinds of articles stores sometimes respond to the bait of a price concession offered by the manufacturer in exchange for orders to make up goods in the manufactur-



"When industrial employment is good retail sales increase." Crowd outside the Filene Store

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er's dull season. However, except on staples, fear of style change is likely to outweigh the lower prices.

One of the traditions of the department-store business is the pre-season sale of women's coats and furs in the summer, furniture in August and February, and some few other items. Such advance selling, of course, means that the goods have to be ordered earlier, which definitely extends their production season. Just as the retailer stimulates pre-season sales by lowered prices, so the manufacturer sells to the retailer at less than his normal profit. He is willing to do this to keep his organization intact and reduce his overhead, just as the merchant is willing to sacrifice some profit for similar reasons.

JUDGING by the information received in our study, this particular avenue of advance orders is likely to be narrowed rather than widened in the future. Many of the stores replying expressed a distinct dislike for pre-season sales and asserted that they continued them only because their competitors did. Some of the arguments raised against them were that they created false standards of value in the mind of the customer, making it difficult to obtain normal prices in the regular season; that they often took away more profitable sales which might have been obtained in the busy season; that customers prefer to buy in the accustomed season even at higher prices; and that sometimes a price decline when the regular season starts will have made the pre-season price seem to the customer too high. Such promotions in advance of the season may continue for some time to come on the articles in which they are already established, but present indications are that not many new types of merchandise will be exploited in this way.

Granting to individual department stores the exclusive right in their communities to handle the product of certain manufacturers, usually trade-marked articles, often assists advance ordering. For one thing, the demand for such articles can often be forecast with considerable accuracy. Again, the retailer who has an exclusive agency is not afraid that competitors will cut the price and this will make him less hesitant about substantial orders. Finally, the manufacturer of branded merchandise is frequently willing to accept back from the retailer merchandise which he has found difficult to sell, thus relieving the retailer of worry about overstocking.

The amount of merchandise in the department store field that is sold on the exclusive agency basis is probably bound always to be limited. The bulk of trade will continue to be on articles on which there is free competition among stores and on which the manufacturer caters to the broadest consumer demand. As an instrument for industrial regularization the granting of exclusive agencies to retailers is probably of definite value in stimulating advance orders, but an influence too small to be of great importance.

Practically all the department stores that replied to the inquiry asserted that in almost all lines they were restricting their purchases to fewer manufacturers. The results of this tendency are, I believe, bound to be of the greatest significance to regularization of manufacture and the part which the retailer may play in it. The reason why stores deal with fewer manufacturers is partly that they may get price concessions on large orders but mostly, I am inclined to think, because by the test of experience the merchandise produced by certain manufacturers is bound to be more suitable for the needs of the individual store than is the merchandise produced by those manufacturers' competitors. Inevitably the result of dealing with fewer manufacturers is that both store and manufacturer become better acquainted with each others' needs. The intelligent storekeeper would naturally like the manufacturers who serve him to operate their businesses as economically as possible. Insofar as advance orders make for more economical manufacture, department stores should be willing and eager to give them provided they feel adequately protected against price decline, style change, and abrupt shift of consumer demand. Such assurance is much more likely to come to pass when stores and manufacturers are on an intimate footing of continual contact and interchange of experience and information.

The retailer on his own initiative can constantly segregate the more staple items from the style articles which he carries. By doing this he should be able for his own good as well as the manufacturers' to extend the range of merchandise on which he is able to place orders far enough in advance to obtain the benefits of more economical manufacture. The suggestions of the manufacturer in this regard would be valuable. The retailer, in all too many instances, is unaware of the vital contributions which the manufacturer can make to the retailing business. The fact that stores are dealing with fewer manufacturers would seem to make almost inevitable a closer tieing-up of the style research activities of both sides, to their great mutual advantage.

A by-product of hand-to-mouth buying has been the necessity which the manufacturer has been under to establish in-stock departments from which the retailer could order in small quantities for prompt delivery according to his needs. From this angle, hand-to-mouth buying has actually helped the manufacturer to extend his production season. The retailer, instead of ordering the bulk of his goods before the season starts, now buys as his needs develop. This constant stream of reorders assists greatly in regularizing the manufacturer's production.

THE manufacturer naturally fears to build up an in-stock department unless he is reasonably sure of reorders from it. One method by which he may receive such assurance is by setting up a system of controlling the dealer's stock, so that the dealer looks to the manufacturer for guidance as to what to buy. This has actually been done quite successfully, even on such style lines as hosiery and bathing suits. By careful analysis, the manufacturer determines the ideal stock for stores of different sizes. The fastest turning items are calculated by size, color, design, and the model stock made up of the proper proportions of each. The retailer reports his sales to the manufacturer, often once a day, and the manufacturer fills in the items that have been sold. By such a system the manufacturer is able to anticipate what his orders are going to be. This helps him to smooth out production.

When the manufacturer sets up his own distributing chain, he, of course, is in a position to place orders as early as he thinks it wise to do so. Even when retailer and distributor prefer to operate separately, there may be established so close a tie-up that the manufacturer has no worry about advance orders and may regularize his production almost completely. In this connection I want to mention the unusual relationship that exists between the McElwain Shoe Company and the Melville Shoe Company, who market the Thom McAn shoes made by the McElwain Company. By an arrangement between the two, the Melville Shoe Company guarantees the McElwain Company its costs of operation and each shares in the final profits of the sale of the shoe. This gives the retailing company (*Continued on page* 512)

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Whiting Williams "himself"

WORKERS' SPEAKEASY

By WHITING WILLIAMS

Unshaved, among the unemployed

LAST summer when I moved, unshaved and under an assumed name, amongst groups of unemployed men in Pittsburgh, Detroit, Gary, Chicago, and other cities which had given me opportunity for similar experience as a worker among workers in 1919, there came to me certain convictions about workingmen and idle men and drinking.

These convictions, mind you, are not presented as for a moment settling the vexed question of prohibition. They leave plenty of room for argument about the pros and cons of other segments of a huge and complex circle—especially the one represented by the white-collared drinker in general and particularly the white-collared youthful drinker. But these findings are, I believe, decidedly pertinent to a sector which is not only large but extremely important, representing as it does all those tens of millions of citizens whose dollars-and-cents margin is so narrow that any shifting of their expenditures for alcohol is bound to be of tremendous social and economic significance, to themselves and to every other member of our present-day body politic and industrial.

Nor in these observations do I take any account of the question whether conditions would conceivably be better if we were experimenting with one of the various Canadian plans. On the contrary, I am attempting to confine myself simply to the two sets of actualities which I have observed with my own eyes and of which I have been to some extent a part in certain worker communities during 1930 and 1919.

In all the industrial centers visited, my effort was to seek out and mix with groups of idle men, whether found at plant gate, private or public employment office, the worker's speakeasy, the hobo's "jungle," or what have you. Such contacts, of course, could be expected to turn up more than ordinary alcohol seaminess. They did. Riskier business it was, too, than any furnace mouth or coal seam furnished by my earlier studies here or abroad. Luckily my companions in the kitchen-curtain-bedroom apartment of a Gary slum were sufficiently unobservant to permit my pouring most of my glass of "mooney" into my offside pocket. In Chicago's "jungle"—only two blocks from Union Station—I was able to get the gang's quart milk bottle of "smoke" up to my lips—but no further. Even though my refusal to drink raised instant question of my genuineness—in fact, started embarrassing discussion of the way "the gov'ment's sendin' out a lot of under-cover men to report on us"—nevertheless I found it impossible to continue once my lips discovered that the thin, milky, smoke-like stuff was nothing but gasoline and denatured alcohol stolen from a nearby garage.

Nevertheless, putting together all the hours and all the days in all these wetter-than-average places, the fact remains:

In the old days, more intoxicated men than I discovered this year could have been encountered in two or, possibly three, saloons within a few blocks in a single one of the whole list of communities visited.

"Sure, you can get all you want, anywhere, any time," was the low-down my companions in the various localities generally gave me as a stranger brought in by a recent freight. But to this was usually added an instant later the decidedly limiting proviso that "of course they gotta *know* you."

This reservation did not prevent my hobo pal in Chicago from buying, in an abandoned house near the "jungle's" brick piles—with the help of his dime and my fifteen cents—a half pint of moonshine. (If we had preferred, we could have had whiskey at the same price, the required brownness being produced with the help of a spoonful or two of colored water.) So, too, my colored companion and I in the slums of Gary were able to secure a half pint within as little as two minutes after we had placed the necessary quarter in the hands of our obliging hostess.

NEVERTHELESS, this necessity of being known meant that our ability to get the stuff was decidedly limited the moment we began, in our search for work, to move away from the home base of our acquaintanceship. Furthermore, such moving about among strangers represented a huge increase in the risk of encountering "graveyard stuff," to say nothing of the enlarged chances of knock-out drops aimed directly at the visitor's "roll."

It was hardly strange, accordingly, that that proviso of "gotta know you," combined with the cost of riskless, good stuff and the danger of unknown, "alley" liquor should make the whole thing a lot more bother than it was evidently considered worth. To be sure, this did not prevent the filling up of certain barrooms as, for instance, those behind the Yards in Chicago. But in these no one of the large crowd could be observed to drink anything but near-beer.

And this leads me to the amazing difference between the old saloon and the present-day speakeasy. Hitherto I for one have had no answer when someone stated solemnly, "The town used to have so-and-so many saloons and now has that-many-or-twice-as-many speakeasies." On the face of it this certainly looked as if the same amount as formerly of both silver and alcohol was being shoved across the bar. A single day as a tough-looking loafer among the speakeasies of Homestead, when added to my general observations elsewhere, convinced me that there is slight relation, in terms

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of either quarts or dollars, between a thousand speakeasies and a thousand saloons.

All that day in Homestead I kept recalling how, in the winter of 1919, hundreds of us would come trooping out, the very instant the six o'clock whistle ended our thirteen hours of pick and shovel night work, and, after all but shoehorning ourselves into any one of the five or six saloons opposite the various plant gates, would inch our way through the jam up to the bar. There one of the three or four husky Poles or Lithuanians, shirt-sleeved and sweating from expert manipulations with bottle and glass, would serve us with the desired one, two, or maybe three editions of "Blacksmith and Helper"—a husky blacksmith of a big whiskey helped down by a huge beer—before we turned to inch our way out again to the door and "so to bed" for the day's precious hours of sleep.

By afternoon of that day last summer, I was prepared to defend this conviction:

All the speakeasies of Homestead are not handling in a whole average day of 1930 *as much of either alcohol or money as crossed a single average saloon bar in Homestead during a single morning of* 1919.

THE reason is plain. The present-day workers' speakeasy—I don't refer, of course, to the near-Fifth Avenue institutions patronized by our friends of the New York intelligentsia—lacks almost completely the well-known "come-hither"—the ancient lure—of the old saloon. The bright lights, the warmth, the good cheer and fellowship, the companionable chromos of well-built femininity—all these are missing. Instead, the speakeasy is likely to offer only the grime and darkness of a sloppy kitchen, plus the furtiveness which makes everyone glance up quickly every time the door is opened to make sure that no "law" has entered. Not by any stretch of the imagination can such a place be called "the workingman's club." Because, further, the proprietor is anxious to keep an eye on all his customers and their doings, he is likely even to frown upon the comradeship of treating. Still further—and quite important—the establishment is much less likely to possess the saloon's insinuating closeness to the daily runways of the worker. Instead, the chances are that a trip, with malice or thirst aforethought, is much more likely to be required.

Altogether it is plain that such a remote and uninviting establishment serves an entirely different and decidely lower clientele among the workers than did its legalized predecessor. My hobo friends in Chicago named the difference accurately.

"All them fellows is bums," he commented as we watched men in search of a free morning eye-opener, saunter with manifest nonchalance into the bootlegger's nailed-up house. *"If I had a job, you'd never see me in there!"*

All this leaves out of the picture, to be sure, the harmfulness of home-brew and particularly the evil of the repeated invitations of hospitable home-brewers. In this I cannot speak from recent observation of the worker family, but others who can assure me that except, again, among the lowest categories of workers, such home-brew, made for social rather than commercial purposes, tends to represent much less money than was spent formerly in the saloon, as well as a considerably lower—and constantly lowering—percentage of alcohol.

Related undoubtedly to all this significant combination of greatly increased cost and danger with decidedly decreased lure and sociability is another surprising development—I mean the way every industrial district discloses nowadays hustling truck-load after truck-load of soft drinks, alongside still others of bottled milk! No one can observe these signs of industry's changing *mores* without being prepared to learn that carbonated beverages, mainly at a nickel a bottle, will total fifteen billion half-pints this year, and are increasing each year steadily to the tune of a cool—in fact, an ice-cold—billion.

This development, along with the several others mentioned, has doubtless behind it other changes than the Eighteenth Amendment alone. Certainly in Homestead, for instance, a huge blow was undoubtedly delivered against the "Blacksmith and his Helper"—and all his other sweating Polish and Lithuanian acolytes—the very morning after that ungodly thirteen-hour night-shift was assassinated, along with steel's twelve-hour day. The same Blacksmith was also, of course, given a cruel wallop by low-priced flivvers, inexpensive movies, and instalment radios, as also by all the various constructive efforts of more intelligent labor leaders and more socialized employers.

Perhaps it should be added that some of these changes have been hurtful to the hobo and the floater—in general to the homeless, unattached fringe of the casual worker group. Neither the gasoline station nor the speakeasy provide these with a real substitute for the sanitary—or unsanitary—serviceableness of the old saloon; especially are they unsatisfactory as places to raise a "stake" for tiding a man over into better days.

Whatever the causes of its demise, the fact is plain that the saloon is not only dead but its soul is *not* marching on in the speakeasy. And that results in my third conviction:

That our present effort to control John Barleycorn has provided a cushioning of vast proportions against the impact of current unemployment.

It is just unthinkable, for instance, that the Communist orators in some of our public squares would not have secured more approving nods and at least a few cooperative curses if they had been addressing men within a quarter mile of saloons. (I cannot but recall how in the main squares of Glasgow most discussions ended up in mere froth—froth of bitterness and rebellion, to be sure, but froth induced largely by the nearby bars. "They be no arguments," the bobby would explain. "Naught but whiskey. Tomorrow with the pubs closed, 'twill be quiet enough.")

SIMILARLY unthinkable is it that in any city of saloons, one Cleveland manufacturer could report that continued readiness and effort, ever since October of '29, to help every one of its hundreds of underemployed families, had failed to find need for a total of as much as $1500.

Equally impossible, without our present saloonless corners, I believe, would have been the increased mutual confidence and cooperation between employer, employe, and employe-leader which have undoubtedly marked this depression as compared with all others. Beyond all question whatsoever, the lessening of misery this winter, whether through jobs or relief, will be made infinitely easier by those same saloonless corners.

Now, this does not mean that prohibition is popular with the workers. Decidedly not. In fact the whole plan comes in for plenty of blame for actually *causing* the present distress. Three millions was the figure oftenest given—always with great solemnity—as the number of the jobless who

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would be put back on beer wagons, at bars, in breweries and cooper shops the very minute the country became wet again. In Gary one serious-minded foreign-born ex-bartender put the figure at no less than seven millions! Furthermore, he added with the confidential nod of those in the know, that the date for getting the seven millions busy again had been definitely set to transpire "before March first—not later." Generally, however, the fault found with the law was the same as that encountered almost everywhere amongst all classes—the fault, namely, of non-enforcement.

"Prohibition?" answered a floater in Chicago's Canal Street. "A fine thing—*when we get it!*"

Which leads to my fourth conviction:

Anything like a loyally backed, efficiently organized, and ably staffed effort at nation-wide enforcement is not yet two years old.

When I started out last June for a series of confidential talks with the federal judges, district attorneys, and prohibition agents in such cities as Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, and others, I expected, of course, to find a low morale—soreness at an unfriendly public opinion, unavoidable graft and dishonesty, impossibility of conviction, and so on. I could hardly believe my ears when, one after another, my interviewees showed identical enthusiasm as they told me the identical story:

"We're getting somewhere here now—but only, of course, within the past year or more."

When I asked what had happened in the period, the explanation was always the same.

"HARDLY more than a year have we been under civil service rules, and therefore able to weed out the ex-barkeeps and thugs put—and kept—in the Enforcement Unit by purely political pull. For the first time our force represents not jobs but careers. And one result is that when today we corner a bunch of 'leggers and answer their query by assuring them that we're 'federals,' they tell us, 'Don't shoot. We'll come down'—and they don't try bribes on us, either."

Another result of the change was explained by a federal district attorney in a big Ohio city.

"Less than two years ago," he said, "I used to protest to the local enforcement officers that I couldn't get convictions on the testimony of some of his subordinates because they shaved so seldom and generally appeared such roughnecks that the jury thought they were probably bigger liars than the offenders under trial. The officer told me I was right, but had to confess that he was powerless to correct the situation.

"Within the past year, however," he went on, "civil service has brought so high a level of agents, and their evidence has been so carefully collected and so convincingly presented, that out of 235 indictments a plea of guilty was put in by all but four!"

No wonder that so many of last summer's jobless companions, during the dragging hours of recounting and exchanging this and that expedient for making money during previous hard times, testified that, "No, I ain't tried 'leggin' this time—not since they've got to addin' jail sentences. That makes it too damn serious."

No wonder also that recent daily headlines have indicated a lessening of effort against the half-pinter and a decided strengthening of the offensive against the ringster and "big shot." Naturally enough the operating plan of the politically chosen agent was simple. He aimed to fool the public by a smoke screen of arrested and well-broadcasted small offenders while devoting himself mainly to shaking down those operating with the help of big money. With equal reason, a force of such agents could hardly be trusted to the point of federal instructions to lay off the minnows and spend months in an effort to trap the real sharks; a single dishonest squealer at the final strategic moment, could send thousands of dollars in salaries, rent, and overhead up the administrative flue, entirely resultless.

ALL this, of course, is changed the moment college-bred and other high-calibered agents are made available by the new rules of selection and then given careful training in collecting evidence—also in raiding homes and using firearms—now under way throughout the country. Evidence collected by such a force, perhaps during months of careful work, is vastly more likely to be taken seriously by judge and jury. At Terre Haute, for instance, last summer, a number of weeks of such sleuthing got for a group of conspirators operating under the lead of Chicago gunmen, penitentiary sentences totaling more than twenty-five years. At Detroit the same kind of work permitted the statement of an official that "nearly 90 per cent of the powerful gangs bringing liquor across the river here two years ago in a big way are now either in jail or under indictment."

Even this new policy will probably take some time before it gets down through the runners of good stuff to those more numerous but much smaller distillers in local stable and garage who sell their concoctions by the "set"—including not only a certain quantity of often deadly liquor but also the exact, corresponding number number of bottles, corks, labels, and everything else needed to fool the lover of the best known Canadian brands, including even the requisite cobwebs!

Allowing time for the development of this new actuality of enforcement against not the habit but the commercial trafficker—and also for the lag always required between nation-wide actuality and nation-wide recognition and acceptance—the chances would appear favorable, within, say, a year or two, to a decided shift in public understanding and opinion. Certainly in the light of these recent administrative changes it is to be hoped that the Wickersham Commission will think it worth while to counsel longer trial of present efforts.

AT any rate, any continuation of hard times is quite likely, I believe, to persuade increasingly against attempting any governmental or other substitute for the present speakeasy. For surely, as long as we are anxious to conserve to the utmost the productive power of the mass citizen, then we'd best be at least careful about monkeying with a plan which, whatever its faults, has undoubtedly transferred during recent years and especially recent months, more than a few hundred millions of dollars from alcohol to gasoline, shoes, and bathtubs.

Similarly our present reliance on mass production for mass consumers is likely to keep us more interested than any other nation in succeeding somehow in our effort to control bleary old John Barleycorn. For this progress makes our average citizen the master of more machinery than is the average citizen of any other country. Just as for years before prohibition we calmly took from the locomotive driver all of his personal liberty to (*Continued on page* 528)

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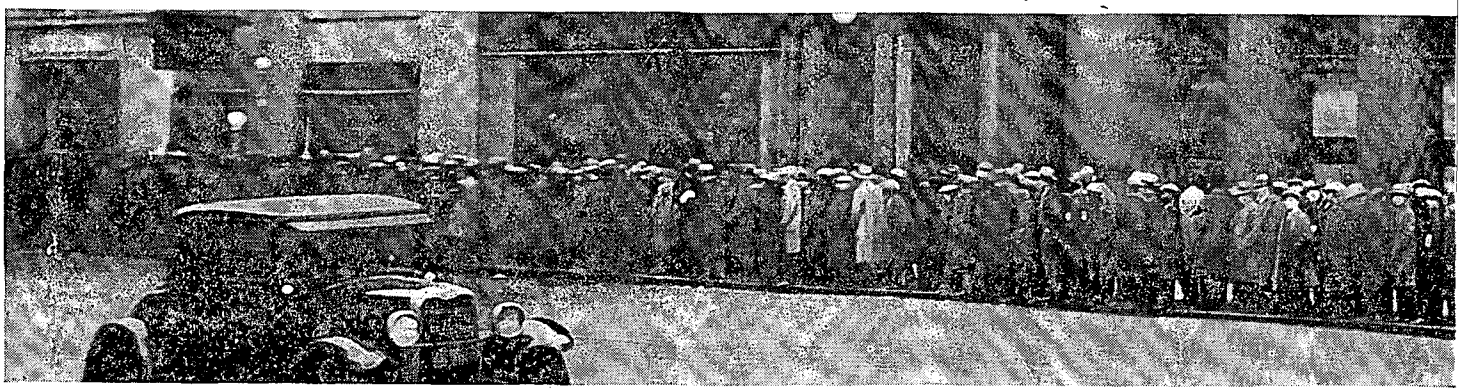

The Job Line

By GERTRUDE SPRINGER

THE grim dawn filters into the gloom of the New York street. The waiting men, four abreast in a long line, shift uneasily and huddle closer against the biting cold. Little bivouac fires burn here and there on the curb.

Six o'clock. Two hours yet before the doors open. Two blocks down the street the line is still lengthening. The late comers peer ahead through the chill mist, then crowd up into place. Perhaps there will be enough jobs today. One mustn't miss a chance.

Half past six. Policemen come on duty. The line doesn't need them. It organized itself hours ago. It has its own rules and its own code. Let a newcomer try to chisel in ahead of his rights and his case is promptly dealt with, without benefit of uniformed authority.

Seven o'clock. Street traffic is beginning. Someone tries to start a song. It breaks off into a chorus of razz as a loaded ice wagon trundles past. A rhythmic shuffle starts at the head of the line and rolls down its length like a wave. A passerby in a derby hat gets the bird. A liveried chauffeur on a limousine is showered with wisecracks.

Half past seven. A boy in blue dungarees and a ragged sweater begins to shiver violently and to sob. Rough hands push him into the inner files where the close-packed bodies will warm him. All eyes are turned to the doors. If you get past those doors you'll get a job. If you don't get past—well, there's still tomorrow.

Around the corner comes a short grizzled man in a worn ulster. He walks the length of the line and back again, estimating it with keen eyes. A whisper runs ahead of him, "That's the boss." A thin cheer follows him.

Eight o'clock. William H. Matthews hooks back the double doors and waves his hand. "Come on. Take it easy. Two at a time." A murmur, a cheer, a roar. The job line begins to move.

When in 1914 William H. Matthews set six men to work with rakes and shovels in the Bronx Botanical Gardens and paid them from the funds of his department of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, he revived a method of relief for victims of acute unemployment which had been tried sporadically in the early nineties and then forgotten. He little realized that sixteen years later this method would become a major form of aid for the casualties of widespread industrial dislocation, that it would be seized upon by other cities to save workmen and their families from the bitterness of bread lines and the stigma of public charity. He did not foresee that in the bleak winter of 1930 he would, morning after morning, scan a line of fifteen hundred shivering men from all walks of life and pass them through wide doors to the only hope of a job that they could find in all New York. He did not realize then—nor does he pause now in his crowded fifteen-hour day to admit—that the small experiment of 1914, leading to the overwhelming demonstration of 1930, would yield a wealth of reasoning—humane, social, and economic—to those who struggle for the protection of the man in the job.

William H. Matthews knew a year ago that this winter would put the work-relief plan to its first big test. He knew because of the growing number of troubled men who came to him in search of work. They were desperate. They were at the end of their savings. Work they must have, and work they could not find. These were not unemployables, nor chronic poor, but men who had always maintained themselves and their families until some economic complication, remote from their experience or understanding, suddenly left them stranded and helpless.

WORK was the answer. So Mr. Matthews made work, as he had been doing in a lesser degree for sixteen years. He put on his worn ulster and his old hat and went out and drummed up jobs, non-competitive jobs in semi-public parks where there is never quite enough money to do all the work that is needed. In the same old coat and hat he went down to Wall Street to the financiers and industrialists and told his story and got the money he needed. Month by month he increased the number of men on the payroll. In May he had 730 at work and in that one month he paid them $46,990 in wages. When the fiscal year of the A.I.C.P. ended on September 30, the Work Bureau had provided employment for varying lengths of time for 1564 men, two thirds of whom had never before sought help from a charitable organization.

It needed no wizard to know that conditions last winter and spring were portents of the future. So Mr. Matthews set his sails. During the summer he saw the park commissioners in every borough in the city and prepared the way for the expansion of the work-relief program. New York has thousands of acres of unimproved park lands. To clear

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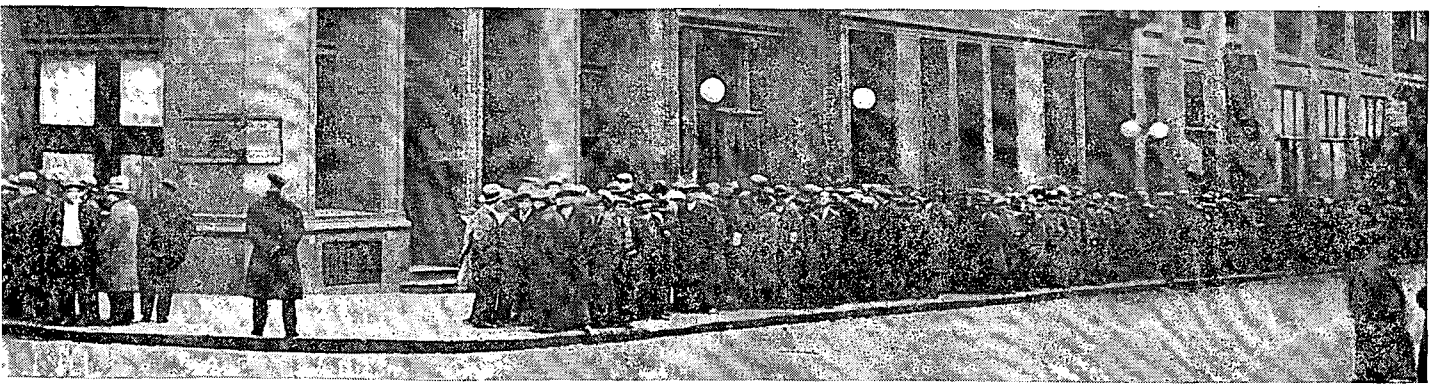

out brush and dead timber, to remove stumps, to level ground, promised much useful work for which no public funds were available. He explored other possibilities—cleaning up vacant lots, casual dumping grounds of a generation, cleaning up the dusty back-stage of museums and institutions. By fall a whole mine of non-competitive work with non-profit-making organizations was ready.

There was still the question of money. Mr. Matthews could see plenty of jobs. But behind every job must lie a backlog of at least $15 a week. Begin multiplying $15 by thousands of men and by six, eight, or ten weeks work and you get into high finance.

And high finance it became. In late summer Cornelius N. Bliss, president of the A.I.C.P., and Walter S. Gifford, executive chairman of the Charity Organization Society, put their highly competent financial heads together and agreed to raise a work-relief fund to meet the needs of the clients of their two organizations. But their plan was too small. The rising wave of unemployment distress knew no limits of organization. Quickly the plan was changed to include the principal family-relief agencies of the city—non-sectarian, Catholic, and Jewish—in all five boroughs. Money-raising experts were called in; an organization, the Emergency Employment Committee, was whipped together with an executive committee of financial and industrial potentates headed by Seward Prosser, chairman of the board of the Bankers Trust Company.

ALMOST overnight the goal was raised from two million to six, and again to eight. The Milbank Memorial Fund led off with a subscription of $250,000 from its capital funds; Edward S. Harkness wrote himself down for $500,000; the Rockefellers, father and son, followed with a round million. Corporations and business houses passed the hat from president to office boy. From every quarter the money rolled in. On December 17, when the formal campaign ended, the Emergency Employment Committee had in hand for the purposes of the Emergency Work Bureau, the sum of $8,269,000. William H. Matthews had his backlog.

Neither Mr. Matthews nor Mr. Prosser nor any of the men associated with them had any delusion that even this huge sum would solve the unemployment problem of New York. They knew only too well that against the weekly loss of wages through unemployment it was only a drop in the bucket. They knew that the $15 pay for a three-day week was not a living wage. But they knew too that $15 a week honestly earned was better for a man's morale than the bread lines, that it would bridge the chasm of destitution for many families and would carry them through the winter without the searing ordeal of applying for public relief.

All of this lies behind the job line as it passes through the wide doors and up the stairs into a big warm room filled with chairs—a chair for every man. All ages and all kinds they are, grey-beards, pale spectacled office men, laborers in rough sheep skins, Negroes, Porto Ricans, middle-aged men neatly dressed and groomed. Over and over, as the file passes, Mr. Matthews repeats, "Married men only, residents of New York." The boy in blue dungarees comes along. Mr. Matthews puts out his hand. "Married are you, son?" The boy shakes his head. "Sorry, this is just for married men. You'll have to step out." The boy raises bewildered eyes. His chin quivers. Tears roll down his cheeks. "All right, son, go on in." Then, to the next man, "The kid'll at least get warm and rested." A little old work-bitten Italian, gnarly and stubborn and gray as an olive tree, pushes past. Mr. Matthews gives him a quick spank and he scuttles up the stairs grinning.

WHEN eight hundred have passed through, the doors are closed. But to the next two hundred in line Mr. Matthews and his aides give blue tickets. "Come tomorrow at ten. You needn't stand in line. These tickets will let you in." To those who were left he explains briefly and reasonably, "We have just so many jobs and no more. It would do no good to keep you waiting and have no job for you at the end. Tomorrow is another day." The men drift off into the thickening traffic of the street. At half past eight, with all the men he can handle under shelter, Mr. Matthews turns back into the building. His day's work is waiting for him.

Standing at his side is young Ray Houston, who helped with the A.I.C.P. summer-camp work until Mr. Matthews, last year, recognized his "parts" and began grooming him for this winter's work. It is Ray Houston, friendly and firm, who speaks to the waiting men, relaxed and resting in their chairs. "Every man in the room will be seen before night. Every man will have the same chance. You can help yourselves and us by waiting your turn quietly and patiently. A good many of you have letters or cards from some one. They won't do you a bit of good. A letter from Tammany Hall or the Republican Club or the Socialist Party, a card from Al Smith or Governor Roosevelt makes no difference. Every fellow here has the same chance regardless of who sent him." A cheer follows him down the stairs.

By this time the whole building is humming with activity. A staff of 250 persons is at work, a staff built up day by day in every department from the ranks of the line itself. With the exception of a dozen supervisors from the A.I.C.P.

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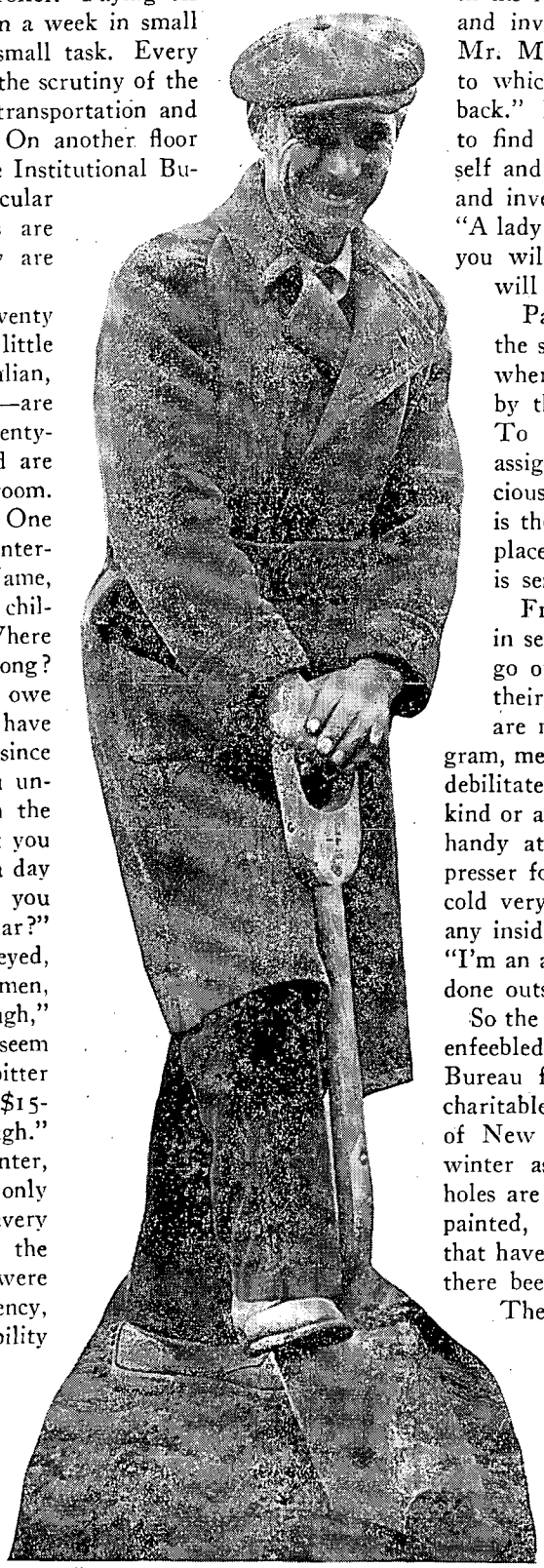
and other family agencies, every man and woman engaged in the work of the Emergency Bureau, every clerk, every interviewer, every typist, came first to its door in search of work—any work, on the terms the Bureau offers. A whole floor is given over to the controller. Paying off more than twenty thousand men a week in small squads all over the city is no small task. Every transaction must presently bear the scrutiny of the auditor, paymasters must have transportation and in many cases a police guard. On another floor is the Women's Bureau and the Institutional Bureau, where men with particular skills or particular disabilities are placed in jobs for which they are fitted.

Meantime the interviewers, twenty or more of them, are at their little tables; the interpreters — Italian, Spanish, German, and Yiddish—are ready; and the first squad of twenty-five men come down stairs and are seated in a little waiting room. Everything is quiet and orderly. One by one the men sit beside an interviewer and tell their stories. Name, age, address, names and ages of children, all go down on a card. "Where did you work last? For how long? What rent do you pay? Do you owe the landlord anything? How have you managed to get along since you've been out of work? You understand that these jobs are in the parks with pick and shovel, that you work three days a week for $5 a day and that the rest of the time you must be hunting something regular?" In a dozen adroit ways the keen eyed, pleasant spoken interviewers, all men, measure the applicant. "Although," says Mr. Matthews, "it would seem as if standing in line half of a bitter winter night for the chance of a $15-a-week job was work test enough."

At the beginning of the winter, when the job line numbered only two or three hundred a day, every applicant was cleared through the Social Service Exchange. If he were previously known to a social agency, the agency reported on his eligibility for a relief job. If he were unknown, a special Investigation Bureau sent a visitor to his address to verify his story. If the visitor's report were favorable, as it usually was, the applicant was notified by letter to call for assignment to a job. But with the rising influx of applicants the Social Service Exchange and the Investigation Bureau, expand as they would into night shifts, were unable to keep up with the flood. The gap between the first interview and the actual job was too long. So a compromise method was agreed upon by which the interviewer was given a degree of discretion. If he senses an acute situation—if a man has been out of work since June, has five young children and another one coming, and is back two months in his rent, he will be assigned to a job at once and investigated afterward. "It is better," says Mr. Matthews, "to pull one man out of a job to which he is not entitled than to hold fifty back." If a man has a small family, has managed to find an occasional odd day's work for himself and is up on his rent, the routine of clearing and investigating is followed before he is placed. "A lady will come to see your wife. In a few days you will get a letter. Bring it here and there will be a job for you."



Three days' work a week at $5 a day

Past the interviewers flows all day long the stream from the big waiting-room upstairs where the crowd is reinforced at mid-morning by the blue-ticket men from the day before. To the interviewers come too the men for assignment to work, each clutching his precious letter of notification. Over in the corner is the list of available jobs against which each placement is carefully checked. Every man is sent to a job as near his home as possible.

From the interviewers the stream is diverted in several directions. The great body of men go out to jobs the next morning or to await their notification letter. But in the stream are many who do not fit the bulk work program, men of special skills, old men, men physically debilitated, men of superior equipment of one kind or another. "I'm a plumber's helper, but I'm handy at carpentering too." "I've been a pants presser for fifty years. I don't seem to stand the cold very well." "I'm a shipping clerk. Is there any inside work? I had pneumonia in October." "I'm an accountant, a college graduate. I've never done outside work, but I'll do anything."

So the semi-skilled men, and the old men and the enfeebled men go upstairs to the Institutional Bureau for jobs that fit their capacity. All the charitable institutions, the churches and museums of New York are having such a cleaning this winter as they never had before. Dusty, hidey holes are being dug out, dark corners scoured and painted, odd carpentry and repair jobs finished that have been hanging over for years. Never has there been such a house-cleaning!

The white-collar men of definite equipment sifted out by the interviewers, go to Ray Houston and sometimes to Mr. Matthews. These two beat the bushes constantly for jobs for these men and flush out a surprising number of them. Not all can be placed at once, but given a little time most of them are absorbed. Some of them, such are their necessities, prefer to go to the parks, if they can go quickly.

There are still the women, who drift in all day long. They fall into three groups: the unskilled who have done casual day's work, the semi-skilled who have eked out the family budget by part-time jobs or sewing of sorts, and the

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skilled clerical workers. The first are the most difficult. They are janitresses of tenement houses, perhaps, who work out their rent and depend on odd jobs for a living. A sick husband, a crippled child, a bedridden mother is often part of the picture. Sometimes these women can be placed in institutional jobs, but work is not always the answer to their problems, and frequently they must be referred to a charitable society for assistance. The semi-skilled women are sent to the emergency sewing rooms which the churches and settlements have opened to make simple garments. Cafeterias in connection with them absorb a number; the institutions find work for still more. All are paid $4 a day for a three-day week.

The clerical workers are a horde. Here are girls who a year ago thought they were making good in New York. Girls who, smartly dressed and manicured, filled the lunch rooms of the financial district. "I was getting $45 a week. I took the president's dictation. I can't go back home. My father is laid off and my mother is half sick with worry. They expect me to help them. I'm down to what I've got on. Look at my pawn tickets—that's my fur coat, and that's my watch."

Such a cleaning and overhauling as New York has never had before

HERE is a woman of fifty who was earning $75 a week as a private secretary. Her life savings went in the Wall Street crash. Her job evaporated over night. Her lips twitch as she tells her story and her hand trembles as she signs the card that means $18 a week for overhauling dusty files in a museum basement.

Here is a woman of forty who had spent her business life with one firm and had worked up to assistant purchasing agent at $5000 a year. Curtailment, consolidation of work and she was out. And a paralyzed mother to support. "I'm not very good at typing any more. For the last eight years I had a secretary. But it will come back. I'll do anything." She too is working in the museum basement, remounting little blue butterflies.

Through all the long day William H. Matthews and his untiring right hand, Ray Houston, are all over the building, seeing everything, picking up a thread here and a thread there, keeping the whole beehive warmed and stimulated with simple human understanding. "Here fella, you can't go to the park in that thin sweater. You'll get your death. Take this card up to room 305 and see if they haven't a coat or something that will fit you." "Don't worry about your room rent, ma'am. It's paid till the fifteenth you say. Now you go up and talk to Miss Randall and I'll bet by the fifteenth you'll be at work and ready to face the landlady."

Mr. Matthews is in the interviewing room when the little old olive-tree laborer whom he had spanked through the door comes up for his turn. The interpreter is called. "Sicilian. Sixty-eight years old. Here since 1910. No work now for three months. Three married daughters in Sicily. No wife. No dependents." Confused and troubled, the gnarly little man heard the verdict: "This is only for married men with dependents. Sorry." He can't get it. He's stood in the line half the night. He's waited in the big room. There are jobs. Why can't he have one? Patiently the interpreter explained. Compassionately Mr. Matthews eyed the stubborn little figure. "Ask him if he'll go back to Italy?" A torrent of Sicilian and the old olive tree clumps off. "He says never, never. He is strong, he can work." Mr. Matthews nodded. "He'll get by. You can't lick that kind."

Telltale hats mark them as white-collar men whose hands blister

When the job line was young the men were disposed of by lunch time. But with the waiting room filled, noon finds at least half of them still there with several hours more of vigil. A hungry man trying to get a job bothers Mr. Matthews. So he makes a quick count, phones out for three hundred man-sized sandwiches, and passes them around with a wise-cracking little speech disclaiming any intention of "putting a bread line over on you men."

Then he goes back to his office, clamorous with tele- (*Continued on page* 519)

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How Shall the Doctor Be Paid?

The Answer of the Chicago Public Health Institute

By MARY ROSS

ON Washington's birthday eleven years ago a young doctor had a sign painted on the door of a little back office in one of the busiest streets of Chicago's Loop. The office and treatment room were staffed only by the doctor and a secretary. The sign, however, bore not his name, but the impressive title Public Health Institute. From that beginning has come what now is the largest clinic in the world for the treatment of venereal disease. During the ten years and ten months ending December 31, 1930, it cared for 172,753 patients. What is more, through it has been evolved a demonstration in organization for medical care which has attracted attention the country over; which has, at times, drawn storms of criticism, and now serves to point up some of the questions that perplex both doctors and patients.

Before the war Dr. Joseph G. Berkowitz had been a private physician specializing in the treatment of venereal disease. He knew, from his own experience, how essential it was for these patients to get adequate treatment, for their own sakes, for their families', and for the benefit of city and state, which would have to bear the eventual costs for many if they went untreated to spread their infection to others and finally became chronic wrecks in almshouses, hospitals, and institutions for the insane. He knew, from their stories, how the patient shrank from having other people suspect his ailment and often squandered his time and money and health by trying self-treatment, or the advice of the corner druggist, or relying on the specious promises of quacks who advertised their claims and seemed to give a ready answer to the questions a patient would not ask his friends nor admit to his family. He knew, also, how hard it was for many people, when they had found an able doctor, to pay for the many visits and expensive drugs required for the treatment of the venereal diseases over the long period of time necessary in some cases to effect a cure; and how impossible it was, on the other hand, for the doctor, working as an individual, to cut these costs and still make his ledger balance at the end of the year.

During the War the Army medical service showed on a larger scale than ever had been tried before, how venereal disease could be controlled among the troops by education as to its importance, infectiousness, and dangers, by having competent facilities for treatment within reach of all who needed them. At Fort Oglethorpe Dr. Berkowitz had a chance to test his experience and ideas in organizing treatment for large groups of men. "I always like to think in numbers, as well as in terms of the individual patient," a few weeks ago he said, smiling, at his office in the present clinic where hundreds of treatments are given each day. He came back to Chicago from war service determined to find some way in which ordinary people "in numbers" could get access to good medical treatment when they needed it, as the troops had done. Here he found others who accepted his beliefs and ideas. A group of Chicago citizens agreed to help him establish a self-supporting clinic for the treatment of venereal disease, and joined him in guaranteeing a fund of $25,000 to meet expenses until it could get on its feet.

EVEN after so short a period as ten years it is hard to realize the courage it took to let one's name be associated with an organization for the care of diseases which could not be mentioned in so-called polite society and were barred from the print of many newspapers and magazines. But the names of the board of trustees of the Public Health Institute were known to all Chicago, and many of them to the country as well:

Albert A. Sprague, president and treasurer; Harold F. McCormick, vice-president; Myron E. Adams, secretary; General James A. Ryan; Samuel Insull; A. A. Carpenter; Nathan William MacChesney; Thomas R. Gowenlock; Marshall Field; Robert A. Gardner; and the late H. M. Byllesby. Four of these have served continuously during the past eleven years and are members of the present board, which also includes A. B. Dick, Jr.; Charles F. Glore; John T. Pirie, Sr.; George A. Ranney; Joseph H. King, now president of the board; Julius Rosenwald; David A. Crawford; and, of course, throughout the period, the medical director, Dr. Joseph G. Berkowitz. Especially in the early years of the Institute and at intervals since that time, personal, political, and business pressure has been brought to bear repeatedly upon these men to try to induce them to sever their relations with the Institute, both because of the scope of its work and the form of its organization, but their faith

Without Profits or Charity

Neither profits nor charity enter into the bookkeeping of the Chicago Public Health Institute, but self-supporting medical treatment in one of the most expensive specialties at fees within the reach of the white-collar and the blue-shirt income. Probably the largest venereal disease clinic in the world, the Institute shows an eleven years' record of good medical care at lower cost than has been found possible elsewhere, and with it the surprising items of more than a million dollars paid in physicians' salaries, a half million contributed to education, research, and philanthropy in venereal disease, and a million as invested surplus to safeguard its work and continuance into the next eleven years.

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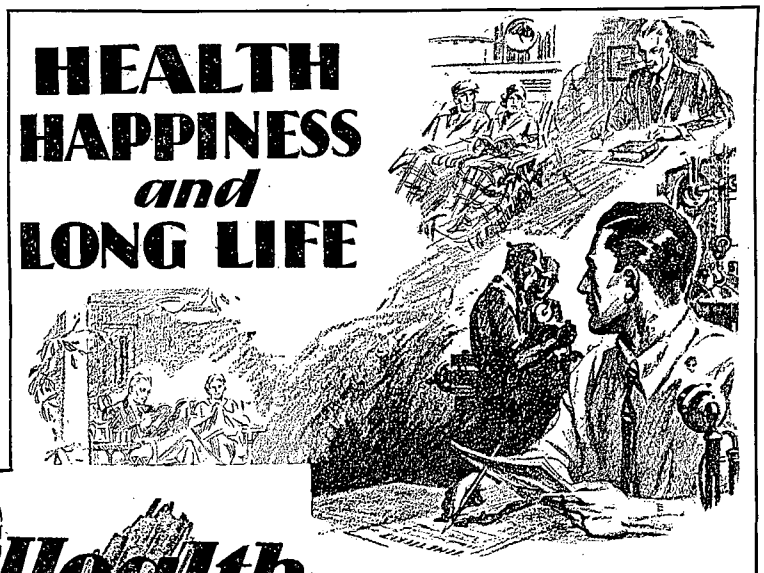
in its aims and principles has remained undaunted. To have served as a director of the Public Health Institute has not required, as often is the case, a share in its financial support; but it has imposed a far more difficult obligation on the board to withstand criticism and even abuse in the lending of their names and brains to an organization which so often has been misunderstood and attacked.

Staff members, needless to say, and especially the medical members of the organization, have faced similar criticisms from their colleagues and sometimes practical ostracism. Because of the critical attitude of the local medical profession, it has been difficult until recently for the Institute to get men with experience and an established reputation to associate themselves with its work. In the face of this difficulty, the staff has been built up in large part by training within the Institute itself young physicians who were graduates of the best medical schools and had served hospital internships but had little specific experience in the treatment of venereal diseases. In looking over the records of the organization's accomplishments, Dr. Berkowitz's appreciation goes warmly to a loyal and able corps of physicians and other workers, many of them associates of years' standing, who have stood by in spite of the difficulties of the position.



Within the Income Reach of All

IN considering the medical services afforded the community by the Public Health Institute in its effort to help other medical organizations and the doctors in combating the evils of social diseases it is particularly interesting to note the relation between its value and its actual cost. While the low cost is an important point to keep in mind, as it will enable you to get well and stay well within your ability to pay, of even greater importance, however, is the reason for this low cost and how it was achieved and steadily developed without any sacrifice of medical value. Though actuated by purely altruistic motives, the great need for the service rendered by the Institute to its clients has made it necessary further reduce the entire cost of treating a social disease and its complications, operates its own Drug Departments, buying in large quantities direct from manufacturers, compounding and manufacturing many of its own prescriptions and supplies. State registered physicians administer all treatments.

Because of these highly developed facilities the Institute's complete medical examination for social diseases constitutes a thorough general health examination. As a result an increasing number of people are using this low cost medical service regularly to protect themselves against possible social disease infection. If you cannot afford the service of a private physician come to the Public Health Institute.

Operated not for profit, the Institute's medical service is offered to everyone at low cost. In fact, treatments are available even to those without funds. The first or preliminary examination costs $3.00 and includes a urological examination for men or a gynecological examination for women and a general medical examination, a urinalysis, Wassermann and Kahn blood tests, microscopic examinations of all secretions and if necessary special dermatological and neurological examinations.

When advisable, patients of the Institute receive a special heart examination, including an X-ray fluoroscopic study, a 14 x 17 inch X-ray picture of the chest, an electrocardiograph print of the heart's action and a blood pressure test for a charge of $3.00. And when necessary a cerebro-spinal fluid examination is made for $2.50 which includes a Wassermann, Noguchi, Ross Jones, Colloidal Gold Solution tests and Cell Count. Other medical services when necessary are available as follows: Special Eye examinations, $2.00; Successive Treatment or Consultation, $1.00; Kahn and Wassermann Blood Tests, $1.00; Urinalysis, $0.25; Intravenous injections of Neo-Salvarsan or tryparsamide, $3.00; six consecutive daily treatments in Urological or Gynecological Depts., $4.00.

Recent health surveys show that 679,000 new cases of gonorrhea come under medical care each year in the United States.—Many additional thousands remain untreated, or, what often proves worse, attempt self-treatment.

Early medical advice and treatment are necessary for any infected person. Treatment in time may prevent disaster; neglect is dangerous.

Good medical treatment and care of "Social Diseases", (gonorrhea and syphilis) including Wassermann and Kahn blood and other necessary laboratory tests, can be secured within your means from an experienced family physician or from the Public Health Institute. Treatment is available also, through the Institute and in many free clinics, for those without funds. No one need go untreated.

The Institute was organized more than ten years ago to combat "Social Diseases" in Chicago. Every facility necessary for competent and reliable medical service has been provided. Members of its medical staff are experienced and are registered by the State. All treatment and advice are given by these men and women physicians. The fees are within the reach of all—for treatment is available to those without immediate funds. No one is turned away because of inability to pay.

advertisement has been submitted to and been approved by the Medical Advisory Board which has been ed at the invitation of the Trustees. It is published by a health agency established for public service ose," of the importance of securing good medical care, and the facilities whereby this can be obtained.

CERS AND TRUSTEES

A. B. Dick, Jr. — A. A. Carpenter — David A. Crawford
Harold F. McCormick — John T. Pirie — Charles F. Glore
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ic Service NOT FOR PROFIT under the laws of the State of Illinois

Street, between Randolph and Lake Streets

clinics in Chicago. The Department for Women and Children is located at 72 E. Randolph Dearborn St., Just St. (second floor) between Wabash and Michigan Aves.—All Clinic near Indiana Ave. Hours, 10 A. M. to 8 P. M. Daily except Sunday. Phone Central 9383.

ANNOUNCEMENT

This advertisement has been submitted to and been approved by the Medical Advisory Board which has been formed at the invitation of the Trustees. It is published by a health agency established for public service to inform the public of the dangers of "social diseases," of the importance of securing good medical care, and of the facilities whereby this can be obtained

BABY'S arrival is an event of great importance in any home. Many problems must be talked over and dealt with. None is more important than that of health—the health of the child and of the expectant mother. They must have the best advice and protection possible and this must start long before the birth of the child.

Syphilis is a most serious threat to the health of both mother and infant, according to medical authorities. In studies of more than 5,000 expectant mothers in the clinics of Chicago, Philadelphia, Brooklyn and New York, about ten out of every hundred were found to have syphilis. Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur says: "When we can keep the spirochetes of syphilis out of the body of every new-born babe, we shall have added enough to human life and happiness to heal the wounds of the Great War."

Good medical treatment of an infected mother before the birth of her child will insure a baby free from syphilis and a mother improved in health.

The United States Public Health Service tells us that "If no treatment is given during pregnancy, a mother with active syphilis is almost certain to give birth to a syphilitic child or to have a miscarriage on account of her disease. With adequate treatment, especially during the early months of pregnancy, a healthy child can be assured in almost every instance, even though the treatment is not sufficient to eradicate the disease in the mother."

No health examinations of expectant mothers can be complete and thorough without Wassermann and Kahn blood and other laboratory tests for syphilis and gonorrhea. These diseases often exist without the knowledge of the infected individual. In one great hospital where all expectant mothers are examined for their health before their babies are born at least one-fourth of those found to have syphilis had no idea that they had been so infected, and showed no evidence of the disease on their bodies.

Good medical treatment and care of syphilis and gonorrhea can be secured within your means from an experienced family physician or from the Public Health Institute. Treatment is available, also, through the Institute and many free clinics for those without funds.

The Institute was organized more than ten years ago to combat "social diseases" in Chicago. Members of its medical staff are experienced and are registered by the state. All treatment and advice is given by these men and women physicians.

The fees are within the reach of all. Treatment is available to those without immediate funds—no one is turned away because of inability to pay.

OFFICERS AND TRUSTEES

A. B. Dick, Jr. — A. A. Carpenter — David A. Crawford
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PUBLIC HEALTH INSTITUTE

Incorporated for Public Service NOT FOR PROFIT under the laws of the State of Illinois

159 North Dearborn Street, between Randolph and Lake Streets

The Public Health Institute has three separate clinics in Chicago. The Department for Women and Children is located at 72 E. Randolph St. (second floor) between Wabash and Michigan Aves.—All Clinics. The Departments for Men are located at 159 N. Dearborn St., just North of Randolph, and at 148 E. Thirty-first St.—cor. of Indiana Ave. Hours, 10 A. M. to 8 P. M. Daily except Sunday. Phone Central 9383.

Large display advertisements in dailies have had a wide educational effect in breaking down prejudice against the Institute and in bringing patients to its doors

The Public Health Institute was organized in the winter of 1919-20, first in the form of a business corporation; then almost immediately reorganized on a non-profit basis without capital stock, the usual form for a hospital or philanthropic institution. Its aim was not to reach the destitute, however, but to give treatment at the lowest cost compatible with self-support and high medical standards. The trustees shared the director's conviction, which experience has justified, that wide publicity through the newspapers would help awaken public concern for the treatment and control of syphilis and gonorrhea, would impel many persons suffering from these diseases to seek care and

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lead them away from quacks and from bottled cure-alls.

To consult the staff of physicians at the Public Health Institute today is a no more conspicuous or formal proceeding than to walk through the doorway of a downtown office building and go up in the elevator into an attractively furnished waiting room. The Institute has followed its plan of staying where the people are, and its main office and clinic for men is on one street in the Loop; its separate clinic for women and children, opened in June 1923, on another. In 1924, at the petition of a group of Negro citizens, a South Side clinic was opened. Contrary to expectation, it attracted white as well as colored patients and now serves about equal numbers of both races in that district.

The accessibility of the clinics and their hours, which run from 10 A. M. till 8 P. M. every day but Sunday, make it possible for patients to arrange for treatment without loss of time, a most important consideration for most of those whom the Institute reaches.

ROUTINE questions of name, age, and address are asked. Nothing about income. If the admitting social worker, explaining the Institute's system of fees, finds that the prospective patient cannot afford to pay anything at all, he is referred to the clinic of the Illinois Social Hygiene League, to the support of which the Public Health Institute has given $12,000 a year out of its surplus and the use of many of its localities for the care of non-paying patients since November 1927. If he registers at the Institute, he receives a number under which all subsequent entries are made. When he comes for another visit he asks for his record card by number; no names are used within the clinic, and the doctors do not know, by name, whom they are treating.

A very complete first examination including the necessary laboratory tests is $3 and subsequent treatments or consultations $1, with other fees for special services and drugs. The average cost of a visit to the Public Health Institute, including drugs, special examinations and the like, is $1.47. Comparison with the amounts that patients pay to private physicians for similar treatment was made in a study last winter by Dr. Thomas Parron, Jr. A year's treatment of syphilis at the Institute's rates would be approximately $185, while at the lowest rates of a general practitioner it would amount to $332 and at medium private rates, to $525. Eight weeks' treatment for an acute case of gonorrhea at the Institute costs approximately $57 including drugs; while the corresponding figures for minimum and medium private rates would be about $109 and $158 respectively. The patient ordinarily pays cash as he goes, though credit is given without question for several visits, and after that at need unless it is found that he has falsified his name or address. If he loses his job or is too sick for work for a time, treatment is kept up until he is able to pay again, so that in exceptional cases where patients have required treatment over several years the Institute has let "charge accounts" run into the hundreds of dollars.

It is the policy of the Institute not to send bills to patients for money that they may owe for past treatments, for fear that the bill might fall into someone's else hands and disclose facts that the patient wishes kept a matter confidential between himself and the Institute's staff. "We have always trusted," Dr. Berkowitz says, "to the patient's honesty and ability to pay. This policy has been fully justified, in that our loss from bad debts is very small—much less, I believe, than in many businesses which use forceful methods in collections."

Each of the departments at each clinic has its individual waiting room from which patients go by turn to the individual examining and treatment rooms. These latter are rather cubicles, enclosed on three sides, with a door to a corridor or the waiting room; while the opposite end is open to an inner corridor along which the white-clad doctors can pass from one patient to another, conserving their own and the patients' time. A long shelf under the windows along this inner corridor holds many sets of the instruments or other supplies which the doctors may require. Through this arrangement as many as 66 patients may be treated at one time in the men's clinic alone without delay or loss of privacy. In 1929 the Institute gave 467,688 treatments, or an average of a little more than 1500 a day, and registered an average of 60 new patients a day, 18,237 for the year: a long road from the first year—1920—when daily treatments averaged 77 and new patients not more than 5.

Aside from these rooms for professional services to patients, the main building of the Institute houses its laboratory, where especially built apparatus does a volume of work both for patients at the Institute and for outside physicians who wish to utilize the service, which makes each test cost only a fraction of the usual amount; its pharmacy, where patients buy the drugs needed in their treatment at half or less than the usual rate in drug stores; and storerooms to house the supplies needed for so vast an enterprise. Here again is evidenced the economies made possible by the ingenuity of its director. The cloths for floor mops, for example, are bought not in gross lots, but in huge bolts, to be used as needed. There are specifications for each of the many commodities which the Institute uses, showing what grade of each has been found to give satisfactory service at the lowest cost. Take absorbent cotton, for example, which has many grades and prices. A salesman, angling for the large order of the Institute, offers a better grade than they use at the price they are known to pay another concern. "Yes," Dr. Berkowitz replies, "but for our purposes we don't need that grade. At what price will you give us the kind we are using?"

IN one corner stands a large bolt of upholstery material for use on the easy chairs and sofas in the waiting rooms. While the clinics proper are painted in solid light colors in the hospital tradition, it is Dr. Berkowitz's belief that waiting rooms should be comfortable and attractive, not "institutional," to express and foster the friendly relationship of staff and patients. "When we need to recover furniture," he explained, "here is the material at hand, purchased in quantity, and of a grade that we know. And among our patients we often have an upholsterer out of work, or too ill to work full time, who does it for us at the regular wages."

"His wages are then applied toward the cost of his treatment?" I asked.

"Oh, no," Dr. Berkowitz explained. "If he isn't working regularly, he is likely to need that money for rent and food as well as medical care. We give it to him in full, and then our social-service department can take up later how it shall come back to us."

How the Institute has been able to lower costs by the bulk of its purchasing power and (*Continued on page* 514)

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More Fire, and Still Fiddling

By JOHN PALMER GAVIT

THIS coming summer at Geneva, unless all present signs fail, is to be made at least entertaining, however much or little may come of it, by the carrying on of another International Opium Conference. Oh, yes, it is called for the spring, May 27, and a lot could be done in, say a month, by people who meant business; who were eager to turn the common experience, the common danger, the common sense, upon a problem whose essential nature and desperate menace are pretty well understood; people with a deadly purpose facing a world-wide epidemic, wanting to get straight to the point and be done with it once for all. Everybody at all familiar with the narcotics problem in its international aspects knows—it has been the subject of unequivocal international declaration—what must be done, and there isn't much honest disagreement about how to do it. Even on the part of those who don't want it done.

But one who sat through the last Opium Conference and has still vivid memories of its piddling with the question, and who realizes that since then by reason of new factors and an immense aggravation of the evil, the situation is even more difficult and complicated than it was then, cannot avoid foreseeing either a pretty early breakup (which is on the whole unlikely) or a dragging out for weeks, even months, while those who don't want anything substantial done to curtail perhaps the most profitable business in the world, labor ponderously to produce a new aggregation of fine-sounding words which will satisfy as little as possible of the demand of those who do; and with holes enough in it to make the whole thing futile. That is what happened six years ago, when the conference began in mid-November 1924 and sat for more than a hundred days, not adjourning finally until February 19, 1925.

A GOOD deal of water—or rather of narcotics—has flowed under bridges and over dams, and national borders, since then. It may be said, with satisfaction, that the world is wiser about this business than it was when that last conference convened; just as it was wiser then than it had been thirteen years before, when was produced the Hague Opium Convention of 1912. It is now realized that the problem is no longer one of a more or less exotic indulgence confined chiefly to Orientals and abandoned wretches in the bottom of slums. The stupendous increase in the production of high-power drugs, largely supplanting the use of raw opium, not only in the so-called "advanced" countries of the West, but even in the Far East, has to some extent awakened the world to a daily increasing peril, even though as yet practically nothing at all has been accomplished toward meeting it. The illicit traffic, better organized, more far-reaching, has attained such proportions that the relatively infinitesimal quantity of these substances needed for medical use has become a negligible item in the picture. The overwhelming preponderance of the total of manufactured narcotic drugs goes by one means or another into the channels of the illicit distribution. Straight—or, rather, crooked—to the addict. There is absolutely no other use for it.

The only encouraging change has been in the increasing consciousness of peril, and resentment, on the part of what may be called the "victim countries"—those that neither manufacture these drugs nor produce the raw material for them. They have taken some steps toward self-defense. For one thing, they have demanded, and obtained, representation on the Opium Advisory Committee of the League of Nations; so that it no longer is the little, quasi-private, close corporation which at first served principally as guardian of the *status quo,* earning Stephen G. Porter's epithet of "the Opium-Bloc." Formerly it consisted quite intentionally of states directly interested in the business, as manufacturers or by reason of opium-growing and consuming possessions in the Far East—France, Great Britain, India, Japan, Netherlands, Portugal, Switzerland; with China and Siam on the side, so to speak. The United States had a nominal, non-voting, "assessor's" place. Bolivia, Germany, and Jugoslavia were later added as producing countries. But now there is a substantial invasion of the "victim countries," by the addition of Austria, Belgium, Egypt, Italy, Mexico, Poland, Spain, Uruguay. Bolivia might almost be counted as of this group, because while she produces the coca leaf, and the habit of chewing it is indigenous among her Indians, her export of it to manufacturing countries is negligible, and the high-power derivitives are flowing in upon her people. If nothing else of moment happens at the conference, it may be hoped that at least the "victim countries" will learn to act together; may even force substantial concessions, and legislation which, however much mere paper-and-words at the outset, may prove of weapon value in time to come.

Courtesy Limited Editions' Club

One of the twelve lithographs by Zhena Gay for a special edition of DeQuincy's Confessions of an Opium Eater

CLASSIFIED with reference to direct commercial interest in the narcotic busi-

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ness, the line-up of the conference as thus far completed is instructive:

Countries with interests—producers: China, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Jugoslavia, Netherlands, Persia, Peru, Switzerland, Turkey, United States.

Countries without interests—"victims": Austria, Belgium, Canada, Egypt, Finland, Hungary, Italy, Mexico, Norway, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Uruguay.

This list is provisional; probably by the time it is published it will have been amplified. It is sufficient, however, to indicate how formidable is the group of those having no pocket-obstacle to prevent their making common cause—barring politics. Always barring politics.

The obvious task before the conference is to stop up the holes in the previous convention, and declare in favor of some method for limiting manufacture. By "stopping-up holes," I mean such things as strengthening the provisions for including newly discovered or elaborated narcotics, or things such as codein, formerly regarded as innocuous but now known to be transformable into habit-forming drugs. And as for methods of limitation—in earlier articles in these pages I have expressed the opinion, and I still believe, that there is only one that can possibly be effective. That is what has become known as the American Plan, the so-called Scheme of Stipulated Supply, whereunder each government would publicly announce its legitimate needs for a given future period, advertise for proposals, and declare that it would purchase its supply in such-and-such a market. Nobody else need manufacture any for that government. Any production beyond that stipulated and publicly announced demand must be illegitimate. The drug interests and the governments interested in this business, affecting to regard themselves as protecting "the legitimate commerce" of their people, fight this scheme and will fight it to the last ditch, because they know it would be effective. It has been definitely approved and in most cases formally installed, by Belgium, Costa Rica, Finland, Italy, Poland, Spain and Uruguay.

ASIDE from the international "cartel" of drug manufacturers, to control production and fix prices, the only other plan that has even been seriously suggested, so far as I know (and it amounts to substantially the same thing as the cartel), is that of establishing a world total for legitimate needs, and assigning to each manufacturing country its quota. The chief and sufficient trouble about this scheme is that it cannot possibly be adopted. Neither governments nor manufacturers will trust each other that far! In that fact lay the hopelessness of the conference of producing and manufacturing interests held in an atmosphere of portentous secrecy in early November, at London. The governments were represented; but the real control lay in the group of persons representing the drug manufacturers; they hovered about as busy and shameless as a swarm of flies around a puddle of honey. As for the official delegates, as usual they either didn't understand what it was all about, or—understood all too well. There was something really pathetic about Foreign Secretary Henderson's speech in opening the conference. As the news dispatches said, he

> . . . explained that the purposes of the conference were to arrange an agreement regarding the proportions in which the world production of narcotics, when it had been limited to a definite amount based upon the world's medical requirements, should be apportioned among manufacturing countries, and, secondly, to consider arrangements for the proper distribution of the narcotics produced, among the consuming countries.

Childlike soul, honest as daylight, no doubt—he had no more idea of the nature of the task which he thus naively described than a new-fledged missionary tackling in a strange country the problem of original sin. Thus blandly did Monsieur Zahle, minister of Denmark at Berlin, describe the task before the Geneva Conference in 1924 over which he was appointed to preside—full of the optimism of total ignorance. He learned, by galling experience, and his speech at the close nearly four months later was drab with disillusionment.

THE other day we seized in one shipment, from the Near East and probably direct from Turkey, something over a ton of the stuff. That means the neighborhood of ten million addict-doses; one cannot be exact, because a "dose" is anything the addict is used to and can stand. Very ominous is this new stream from Turkey. It means that the dope interests, chiefly of German and Swiss nationality, finding their own incurably decent countries getting too hot for them by reason of the rising tide of resentment against the reputation these people have been creating for them, have installed capital and equipment, and technical skill, in a country where for the present, anyway, they are less likely to be interfered with. The poppy and the coca shrub, not to mention hemp for hasheesh, can be grown profitably in Turkey; the rest is a simple matter. More and more we shall be hearing of dope seizures from that source.

We do not need a crumb of narcotic drugs from abroad. Our own product is ample for our legitimate needs. We manufacture, but our stuff, like Great Britain's, seldom is found among the seizures anywhere. So far as these drugs are concerned, we might well be content with our policy of "splendid isolation." But let us entertain no delusions—the United States is the big market for illicit dope, from everywhere. It is a by-cargo, along with the smuggled booze; easier to handle, harder to detect, immensely more profitable. Furthermore, it is a commonplace of experience with smuggling that seizures represent at most 10 per cent of the total smuggled. It is infinitely worse with drugs, because of their small bulk; you can carry upwards of $2000-worth in one hollow cane. And it doesn't gurgle.

Little can be done about it locally, by state or federal legislation. This is an epidemic beyond the control of any nation within itself. Customs barriers are futile; the thing can be controlled, if at all, only at the source in the drug factory, and that control depends upon the good faith of the nations, acting together; and acting under the spur of a common fear. A fear which does not yet exist, and will not exist or be effective so long as governments (or any of them) treat these substances and the traffic in them as ordinary and legitimate commerce, competing among themselves for the "market."

WE stand first among the "victim countries." No other has or is entitled to have, as a matter of mere self-defense, so profound an interest in the international action without which all pious utterances, treaties, and local police activities must be ineffectual.

The American delegation went to Geneva in 1924 with a carefully thought out plan, and at its head was a man charged with unselfish zeal. Never mind that Stephen G. Porter was obsessed with the pull-up-the-poppies delusion, and never to the day of his death last year really understood the immense change brought into the world situation by the swift rise in the tide of manufactured drugs. Never mind that so far as diplomatic intercourse was concerned his manner was that of a bull in a china shop. When finally he withdrew the American delegation, his adversaries knew that they had been in a man's-size fight. The dope interests already are congratulating themselves in the belief that the United States has nobody to take Mr. Porter's place. Perhaps they are right; certainly we have nobody with his zeal coupled with his political influence and knowledge of political machinery. They are even hoping that we shall not send to the conference any delegation at all. Announcement to that effect would be, as I have said before, the best news the old Opium Devil has heard in a long, long time. After all, the United States, through Dr. Hamilton Wright, the late Bishop Brent, Repre-

(*Continued on page* 523)

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Letters & Life

In which books, plays, and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

Light Waves

DEBUNKING SCIENCE, *by E. T. Bell. Univ. of Washington Book Store. 40 pp. Price 65 cents postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
ALBERT EINSTEIN, *by Anton Reiser. A. & C. Boni. 225 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THE MYSTERIOUS UNIVERSE, *by Sir James Jeans. Macmillan. 163 pp. Price $2.25 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THE END OF THE WORLD, *by Geoffrey Dennis. Simon & Schuster. 170 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
FLIGHTS FROM CHAOS, *by Harlow Shapley. McGraw-Hill. 168 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
ANDRÉE'S STORY, *edited by The Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography. Viking. 389 pp. Price $5.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

SCIENCE has taken to playing Santa Claus. At the holiday season the learned societies pour out their cornucopias of discovery. We are likely to find a new planet in our stocking, a life-granting serum, a cosmic ray, or a vast hope, a hope that the Universe is forever creating itself anew in the marriage of interstellar radiation. We are grateful, but dumb. Here are grand jig-saw puzzles... but Santa Claus forgot to leave the rules of the game. Does this light-year fit next this electron? Dare we move this nebula? Is right side up really up side down? Well, here are books with the 1931 guesses.

I say guesses for Science has grown humble and no longer claims omniscience. The very buttresses of mathematics seem to some involved in paradox: Mr. Bell's monograph with the knell-like title, Debunking Science, argues that the basic doctrines of mathematical physics are inconsistent, leaving gaps in the proud cathedral through which winds of superstition blow. He believes that the post-flapper generation with its ignorance and disrespect and iconoclasm will have the task of pricking many a full-blown bubble of theory. Einstein has been heard to call Eddington—"metaphysician." Sir James Jeans says that Science may well leave off making pronouncements. That seems fair enough when the final pronouncement of Geoffrey Dennis, contemplating the end of the world, is: "There is no Universe." Ditto, there is no Geoffrey Dennis, or even the hat through which he is talking.

BUT if Science grows humble, plain men do not. They have had too many glittering Christmas presents: electricity and air-planes and antisepsis and radium. They will believe in *any* Santa Claus who works such miracles! The dwarfing of mankind by the vast, cold Universe these books describe and the ignorance that is their overtone, do not disturb John Median. I happened to be listening to Jeritza in Carmen when Albert Einstein entered the Metropolitan. Applause swelled, waves of people rose, music and good manners were forgotten. We were saluting our prophet. It was memorable, that moment of breathing the air with this gentle thinker who may rank with Galileo and Newton. The brown-eyed artist in thought bowed serenely. We sat down, wondering, I suspect, what his visits to the ends of space mean not to our destiny, but to our fortunes.

This Einstein, according to Anton Reiser in his biography of personal appreciation, is an humble student of the forces of nature and reason, concerned with finding a unity and meaning in the world. "My concept of God is an emotional conviction of a superior intellect manifested in the material world." The book reveals a simple man, who loves music and is happy sailing a small boat, who longs for peace and international fraternity, who seeks relentlessly as an artist to interpret the world design for the service of humanity, and whose adventures have been only those of the mind. This volume is not final nor does it explain too deeply Einstein's theory, but it explains a great man, a dreamer some of whose dreams are a revelation of Plan.

FROM Sir James Jeans' The Mysterious Universe (companion volume to The Universe Around Us) I cannot repeat the crystal-clear account of modern physics, matter and radiation, relativity and the ether. No more understandable outline of these root notions has been written for layman. But his conclusion is afire with courage: "Objects subsist in the mind of some eternal Spirit. . . . The universe begins to look more like a great thought than a great machine. . . . The whole world is reduced to a world of Light." We are not strangers or intruders in this world, but may be somehow makers of light. "Science no longer has any unanswerable arguments to bring against our innate conviction of free will." Jeans holds that, "The Universe seems to have been designed by a pure mathematician." Pure mathematics, so far as we have discovered, does not touch emotion, morality, or aesthetic appreciation. But Science admits we have not discovered very far! Only yesterday we solemnly exiled design and free-will: tomorrow we may apprehend that love and goodness and beauty are also forms of the eternal Spirit.

Woodcut by Walter T. Murch for The Mysterious Universe, by Sir James Jeans

GEOFFREY DENNIS says No. He offers a grand exercise in pessimism—Omar Khayam without the wine, playing a fugue on the ancient motif: Nothing from Nothing to Nothing. Here is the Absolute in Nihilism, bitter, phan-

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tasmagoric, often beautiful. The man is one of the few who can play among the nebulae and electrons with the rhetoric of a poet; his style is gorgeous, his logic impeccable; it is tonic to know the worst. This is it—for the author solemnly throws himself out with his bath. The question that drives this gentleman off the deep end is: How will the world end? And when? And what comes after? The bets on comet, fire, water, drought, cold, crash, God, are laid with skill, genuine knowledge of modern science, and adorned with intriguing lore. Did you know that since comets heralded the deaths of kings, the dying Charlemagne had a "flattery comet" invented in his honor? Or that vintage wines come in comet years? Such pleasant bits are more interesting than the main conundrum. For if a comet is aimed our way, what can we do about that? And if the sun will be cold in a couple of billion years, why worry now? I do not disparage Mr. Dennis's diabolic realism. I have it myself. But to what committee shall we refer the matter?

FLIGHT From Chaos is just that—an astronomer's endeavor to rank and order every part of creation. The chart he produces is a vast relief to the mind though it must be taken by the layman on faith. First, we are given a tremendous picture of the confusion of energy and matter revealed in the cosmos: then step by step is builded a classification of every known material system from the corpuscles of energy more minute than the electron to the Universe, or space-time continuum. There are seventeen steps, from minus four to plus twelve, with man for the moment at the middle of the range between single corpuscle and giant star. Below man are molecular systems, molecules, atoms, and quanta: above we come to meteors, satellite systems, planetary structures, double and multiple stars, galactic and globular clusters, galaxies, multiple galaxies, supergalaxies, the metagalaxy, the cosmoplasma, Space-Time. The author leaves a blank line at each end as "an intimation of hope and an indication of temporary ignorance." He even considers putting Mind in the top space, but wonders whether mind is not a dimension of every system. Thus he approaches Jeans. Moreover, he seems to show that the system is closed for in the cosmoplasma, the vast mother substance of nebulous particles and interstellar gas, we come again on corpuscles, atoms, and molecules. Here is that unity the mind forever craves and the hope that by as yet unimaginable radiation, new enterprises in creation are taking form. I pass on this chart because it helps the weary mind find orientation. It has the comforting quality of making sense—a quality not common to all the dogmas of modern science.

BUT if sense is not always the distinguishing characteristic of the speculations of this race that measures a universe in millions of light years though none of its members has as yet been more than eight miles away from this tiny planet, courage is common. Courage *is* free will. This courage of science is proven once more by the memorials of Andrée and his companions gathered from White Island last August, thirty-three years after they set forth in a frail balloon to sail to the North Pole. Few printed things have been more moving than the diaries of this engineer and his comrades. They went ill-prepared, Fate at the very start broke the ropes they dragged to direct their course, fog-ice drove their craft down after scarce a hundred miles. But they bumped on sixty-five hours till the stricken Svea could rise no more.

Then for three months they dragged sledges through incredible hardships, living on polar bears, and reached the iron shore only to die from some device of Fate that remains indecipherable. But every day to the final catastrophe Strindberg listed their position, Fraenkel recorded meteorological data, and Andrée wrote his notes on the fauna he saw! They preserved their discoveries and their photographs for posterity. Their plans were poor; their equipment ridiculous; their researches unimportant; but their spirits were triumphant. These were Minds bent on mastering Matter. Geoffrey Dannis might find hope in these words written by Andrée:

> I cannot deny that all three of us are dominated by a feeling of pride. We think we can well face death, having done what we have done.

LEON WHIPPLE

Institutions and Culture

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS, *by Joyce O. Hertzler. McGraw Hill. 234 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

OF course this book is not about orphanages, hospitals, prisons, etc. These are institutions but so are the church the school, the home, the courts, etiquette. Dr. Hertzler presents here a study of institutions as such, rather than a series of studies of the several institutions.

Their relation to insistent needs, drives, interests, major habits, etc., is linked with their relation to cultural accumulation, diffusion, lag, and so forth, especially to material culture such as investments, buildings, and equipment.

He seems to deal with them as product rather than process. This is a somewhat unrealistic treatment, for any actual institution may be viewed as either process or product. If one takes it in cross section and attempts to abtract and appraise the results of previous process in their structural, i. e., relatively permanent relationships, it is seen as product of the past. On the other hand, if one views these relationships as relatively changing and functional, they are seen as social processes.

The book leans heavily upon Sumner and Keller's works on folkways, mores, and institutions but draws little (except for Lowie) upon the work of Boas and his disciples—and how little the latter use institutions for which their nearest equivalent is "culture complex." The difference seems to be chiefly in the "rational" or "purposive" basis imputed to the process of institution-making by the older school of thought, while the culture-anthropologists see in many an "institution" a mere accidental accretion of habits and equipments, imitative techniques, in which the satisfactions have little relation to "rationally" tested results. One might, however, venture to say that institutions are such culture complexes as have been sanctioned by rationalization. Lowie's Are We Civilized should be a good corrective for such naive assumptions as that economic and political institutions are kept free of custom because they must be efficient. Yet "Culturism" would impute to the cultural basis of "institutions" an independence of the needs and satisfactions of its inventors and perpetuators which seems equally unreal; and to abandon the word institution merely on the ground that it implies a different theory of culture seems unnecessary. And there is no reason why institutions, even if irrational, should not in future be modified under the test of "science" or "reason"—both of which are also culture products, but which supposedly include knowledge of ultimate human needs and satisfaction.

Again Hertzler, though giving lip service to current critiques, still assumes with Lang that existing preliterate cultures are "primitive," i. e., represent earlier stages in an ordered evolution of culture. He seems to lean quite as confidently upon Taylor, Osborn, McGovern, Hambly, Frazer, Ellwood, Blackmar and Binder, as he does upon the Boas School. The fallacy of implying an entity in society or institutions independent of their members, occasionally seems to creep into Hertzler's work. The importance of the history of institutions in setting our scales of value is well brought out, but the relation of the valuation process to our "supernatural" environment and institutions seems to be inadequately treated.

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The selections and authorities often remind one that many of the concepts for which the cultural anthropologists, social psychologists, human ecologists, etc. have coined fashionable phrases had been earlier expressed in more familiar terms by keen and philosophic observers of the older schools. In general, however, this book is more logical than realistic; it might be improved by more use of behavioristic and psychiatric analyses of institutional behavior.

The book is rather a moasic than an original treatise but is a useful addition to the group of monographs of which North's Social Differentiation, Sorokin's Social Mobility, and Bogardus' Social Distance are examples. The chapter on the institution and the individual, while nothing new, is valuable to the social worker.

THOMAS D. ELIOT

University of Washington, Seattle

The Mind of a Judge

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC VIEWS OF MR. JUSTICE BRANDEIS, *collected by Alfred Lief, foreword by Charles A. Beard. Vanguard. 415 pp. Price $4 postpiad of Survey Graphic.*

EIGHT years ago the Yale University Press published the Storrs Lectures of Benjamin N. Cardozo, in which the present chief justice of the New York court of appeals discoursed with his customary blend of wit, learning, and reason on "The Nature of the Judicial Process." Alfred Lief in The Social and Economic Views of Mr. Justice Brandeis and in The Dissenting Opinions of Mr. Justice Holmes, published last year, has presented what might be called "cases" on the nature of the judicial process, showing its manifestation through the mind of the individual judge. One usually reads opinions by diverse judges on a single subject. It is an interesting and somewhat illuminating variation to read a group of opinions by one judge on various subjects. The unifying thread changes from the common topic to the common mental quality and viewpoint.

Professor Beard in his introduction recalls the long fight waged in the Senate against confirming President Wilson's appointment of Louis D. Brandeis to the federal Supreme Court. Some of the senators who objected would not have been less vigorous in their opposition if they could have foreseen specifically some of the opinions later expressed by the appointee whom they considered an undesirable addition to the Supreme Court bench.

A judicial decision is a resolution of forces. Some influences move in one direction; others in another; the resultant is the decision. All the influences must come to bear on the matter through the mind of a judge which determines the amount of power the force from each direction shall exert. To change the metaphor, many rays enter into the light of judicial reason. The mind of one judge is more nearly opaque to some of the rays than the mind of another judge, and the color of the light varies after it has passed through different mental media.

Readers will widely vary in their sympathies with the opinions of Judge Brandeis. Those opinions which are presented are grouped under the headings: labor problems, public utility economics, guaranties of freedom, prohibition and taxation, ideas expressed before 1916 (the year of the appointment of Mr. Brandeis to the Supreme Court). It seems to me that the opinions on labor problems do not most wisely proportion the weights to be given to the various considerations. Judge Brandeis seems to me to show at his best, with a brilliance and penetration unsurpassed, and perhaps unequaled in judicial utterances, in his opinions on public-utility economics. It seems rather odd to me that a man whose mind is generally so clear on financial matters should have written a dissenting opinion in the case of Eisner v. Macomber involving taxation of stock dividends. The dissenting view in Olmstead v. United States on the matter of tapping wires to obtain evidence, rings with the unalloyed coinage of freedom. It is a splendid and stirring utterance. Since opinions on opinions are probably of little interest, no more will be expressed. The editorial work of Mr. Lief has done everything properly possible to lessen the effort and increase the interest of the reader. The selection of the opinions presents a cross section of current social problems.

New York City

HASTINGS LYON

Back of Our Schools

THE AMERICAN ROAD TO CULTURE, *by George S. Counts. John Day. 194 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THE ENGLISH TRADITION OF EDUCATION, *by Cyril Norwood. Dutton. 335 pp. Price $3 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

IF a foreigner were to analyze our educational system, to discover the wellspring of its philosophy and practice, what would he see and what would he say? This is the question Dr. Counts seeks to answer. He tries to divest himself, "insofar as that is possible, of any strictly American experience or point of view, and examine our program of education from a relatively detached position." He goes for his information, not to the writings of educational theorists, but to our educational institutions themselves, and to their backgrounds in local and national life. The result is a stimulating and provocative social interpretation of our schools and colleges.

Dr. Counts defines ten "controling ideas" in American education to each of which he devotes a chapter: faith in education; governmental responsibility; local initiative; individual success (including our faith in "the money value of schooling"); democratic tradition; national solidarity; social conformity; mechanical efficiency; practical utility; philosophic uncertainty. Dr. Counts writes with simplicity and charm, and his discussion is clear and to the point. Many readers will feel that his book loses in force as well as in interest through the lack of illustrative material. Only rarely does he bring forward concrete instances to sharpen his argument. The result is a scholarly detachment from schoolroom and campus which is likely to lessen the book's usefulness to parents and teachers, who are wrestling with schools as they are.

Dr. Counts shows that our schooling takes the color and pattern of our social organization, that the strength and weakness of education in this country reflects the successes and failures of our community life. Thus in the final and, in many ways, the most provocative chapter (on "philosophic uncertainty"), Dr. Counts observes:

> Since war is the only really great enterprise in which the country as a whole participates, the American people tend to identify patriotism with willingness to bear arms in defense of the nation. Patriotism also commonly embraces reverence for the major political and military heroes of the past, loyalty to the constitution and faith in the essential justice and goodness of American institutions. . . .

The book is intended only as an examination—not a diagnosis or a prescription. It is to be hoped that in a second volume Dr. Counts will offer his suggestions for making the schools a means toward shaping a richer and more satisfying life for us as individuals and as a people.

FROM a different point of view and with different methods and objectives, the headmaster of Harrow examines the English tradition of education and compares it at many points with the American system. It is frankly the book of a practical schoolman and does not go deeply into philosophic or social considerations. Much of it is in conflict with progressive educational thought both in this country and abroad. It holds, however, timely reminder of values that are sometimes lost to sight in our striving for freedom and creative activity, and

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makes useful contribution to current thought on schools and schooling, particularly in the chapters on religion, discipline, and democracy and knowledge. BEULAH AMIDON

Our Grudge against Civilization

CIVILIZATION AND ITS DISCONTENTS, *by Sigmund Freud, translated by Joan Riviere. Cape and Smith. 144 pp. Price $3.25 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

IT is a weighty responsibility to review so important a book by so important a thinker. Nothing that Freud writes is simple; everything is eloquent, often complex, and sometimes obscure. This book is no exception. It is stimulating, it is beautifully written and translated, and although it is designed for lay readers more than for experts, it is profound.

The thesis of the book is something as follows: Life at best is hard; suffering comes to us from within our bodies, from the forces of nature, and from our attempts at a happy relationship with other men. The various diversions and substitutive gratifications which man has discovered are not sufficient to allay the pain completely. It is increased by a curious mechanism, to the origin of which Freud devotes several chapters of exposition, known as the sense of guilt. This sense of guilt is largely responsible for civilization, and at the same time civilization by heightening the sense of guilt subtracts from the total of human happiness. For civilization has been accomplished by the renunciation on the part of individuals of instinctive gratification and for this necessity of renunciation the individual nourishes a grudge against civilization.

Freud feels that the aggressive, destructive tendencies which are characteristic of the death instinct parallel the various manifestations of the life instinct (libido)—namely the self-preservative and race-preservative, or selfish and social tendencies. The former never appear in the open but run in a counter-direction to the life instinct and, as it were, hidden behind it. Self-destructive tendencies in the individual are fortified by the tendencies to aggression which are stimulated by the resentment of the child toward the parents for the privations they insist upon and also by those which arise within the (child's) ego through the setting up of an independent internal authority to replace that which comes from the outside. The total net result is a self-oppression which we know as conscience and which applied to instinctively desired gratifications of certain kinds, is felt as a sense of guilt.

These privations leave to us the gratification we may receive from the non-forbidden sources: such diversions of interest, for example, as science, sports (curiously Freud does not specifically mention this); substitutive gratifications as art; and such dubious anesthetics as alcohol. From the first two of these at least spring the increasingly great and numerous defenses against the natural forces of nature which would tend to destroy man. In fact, says Freud:

> Men have brought their powers of subduing the forces of nature to such a pitch by using them they could now very easily exterminate one another to the last man. They know this—hence arises a great part of their current unrest, their dejection, their apprehension. And now it may be expected that the other of the two heavenly forces, eternal Eros, will put forth his strength so as to maintain himself alongside of his equally immortal adversary.

KARL MENNINGER

The Menninger Clinic, Topeka, Kansas

BOOKSHELF

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SINCE THEN, *by Philip Gibbs. Harpers. 469 pp. $3.75.*

NOW IT CAN BE TOLD and More That Must Be Told by Philip Gibbs were startling in their revelations of wartime falsehood, and in their suggestions that the nations are not even yet perfect. This volume is a running record of the almost continuous bloodshed and battle that have followed the Treaty of Versailles. Gibbs appears to have access to the ears and the records of the lords of the press in Europe. And the student of present-day history will do well to read this volume to see how very insecure and shaky are our hopes for world peace. Gibbs thinks the element of hope is the youth of the world. But this reviewer wonders if Gibbs ever heard a troop of French Boy Scouts singing their Giovanezza—Song of Youth—with its refrain:

> For the war that is coming,
> For the war that is coming. . . ?

SWIFT, *by Carl Van Doren. Viking. 272 pp. $3.00.*

A GENIUS who wasted his powers on petty angling for ecclesiastical and personal preferments; a puritan who condoned in individuals the follies he flayed in mankind; arrogant to authority—affectionate, almost to sentimentality, to his intimates; self-centered, kindly—this the many-faceted Swift whose pen whipped into shape public opinion for the unappreciative politicians of his time, and whose greatest irony has lived as a bed-time story for children. A stimulating book.

A ROVING COMMISSION, *by Winston S. Churchill. Scribner's. 370 pp. $3.50.*

ENGLAND'S fair-haired boy (now over fifty) here tells the sparkling egotistical memoirs of his youth. What a chap for bobbing up, through personality or pull, in the middle of things! In English schools, regiments, Indian border wars, bamboozling Kitchener, leading the cavalry at Omdurman, winning fame and money as war correspondent—and all before he entered Parliament at twenty-seven. No wonder he says, "All the days were good." His zest, audacity, brilliance, and success give a rare tingle to the pages. Churchill was a lucky lad. He writes the most entertaining history I know: for after all one learns history in what he calls "this picture of a vanished age."

NEW YORK, *by Paul Morand. Holt. 322 pp. $2.50.*

THIS amazing French reporter has written the best modern guide-book to New York. He knows his metropolis—from Battery to Bronx—and reveals things it takes a New Yorker years to learn. Multitudinous facts do not kill the life and color of the scene: a slant-wise Gallic questioning of what it's all about does not upset an urbane appraisal of the city's real virtues. Clarity, intuition, humor make fine reading. The reader's dilemma is: Shall I give away or keep?

CENSORSHIP OF SPEECH AND THE PRESS, *compiled by Lamar T. Beman. H. W. Wilson Co. 507 pp. $2.40.*

NO STUDENT of liberty can do without this admirable collection of articles and briefs on censorship of words. It is a notable addition to Wilson's helpful Handbook Series on modern problems. Bibliographical matter is comprehensive; the pro and con sides carefully stated; the background articles interesting though not always fundamental. Best of all are the pungent short quotations on liberty from every source under the sun. This is a stout weapon for the eternal fight.

THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF AMERICAN CULTURE, *by Thomas Cumming Hall. Little, Brown. 348 pp. $3.00.*

RELIGIOUS history rewritten in the modern manner, upsetting quite a few common notions. For example, the origin of what is commonly called Calvinism was not in Calvin but in Wyclif; and what is called Calvinism did not have anything to do with Calvin. The Lollards, followers of Wyclif, were the first real dissenters; and they developed their class consciousness to the point where poverty and joylessness became marks of sanctity. The great body of Puritans were not separatists and never left the state church. The commonly accepted connotation of Puritan grew up in America, not as religious conviction but by reason of economic and social pressures. And so on. Decidedly worth while, easy to read, and rewarding.

ROADSIDE MEETINGS, *by Hamlin Garland. Macmillan. 474 pp. $3.50.*

REMINISCENCES of the great and near-great among the literati of the nineties. Garland left the Dakota prairies in 1884 and went to Boston with $140 to find a place for himself in the writing world. He followed up his enthusiasms and sought the acquaintance of people whom he admired. One door inevitably opened another. Thus he built up a wide circle of notable friendships. His warm and sympathetic portraits of authors, artists, and public men prominent at the end of the century constitute almost a literary and cultural history of the period.

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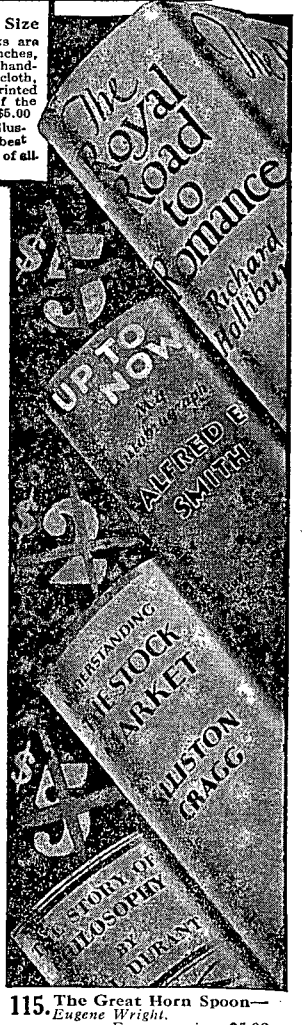

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occupations. A code of emergency measures was suggested which was put into practice by a large number of employers. Employes who otherwise would be out of work were used for alterations, repairs and cleaning. Workers were kept busy manufacturing for stock. Short-time was resorted to in place of lay-off. Where a lay-off was necessary, careful consideration was given to the need of the worker.

The next effort along this line in Rochester will be concentrated on bringing the smaller concerns up to the standard of the larger ones. To do this, the Committee may establish a service for the smaller employer, who cannot afford a technical staff of his own to study his business in detail and work out methods of stabilization adapted to his individual problems.

The best thing the Permanent Committee has done in Cincinnati [a social worker told me] has been to stir up employers' consciences and make them want to stabilize. It's amazing how many men they can keep on, once it seems important to them to do so. There's Nick Colson—and Mr. Haggarty, and Mrs. Bowles' son—just to name a few among my own families. They were all out of work most of the winter of 1927-8. This year they're all working part-time. I know it is just because the employers have been made to realize their responsibility for steady work.

The educational campaign for stabilization has gone forward for nearly two years in Cincinnati. Like the Rochester campaign, it has rested on the example of local firms. In the Cincinnati area there are a number of concerns which have for years worked toward stabilization and which have met with notable success—among them, Procter and Gamble (see The Survey, April 1, 1930, page 18), the Pollak Steel Company, and the Gruen Watch Company. In the set-up at Ivorydale, the original Procter and Gamble plant, for example, there were during the first eleven months of 1930, 486 "exits" in a working force averaging 2329, as compared with 1014 in 1920, in a force averaging 2340. In these 486 "exits" during 1930 are included 244 separations because of retirement on pension, death or marriage. None of the remaining 242 workers who left the company's employ had placed themselves under the Procter and Gamble guarantee of forty-eight weeks work a year, established in 1923. On December 1, 1930, therefore, 95.3 per cent of the total working force were thus protected against broken time, as compared with 84.8 per cent on January 1, 1930.

The method used by Procter and Gamble through the current emergency to keep their wheels turning as smoothly as they have was to manufacture ahead such of their products as can be stored, and rent increased warehouse facilities until intensive sales efforts and a change in business conditions take care of the normal output. Colonel Procter told me:

It's going to cost us $250,000 to $300,000, but you know we are sold on steady work—we believe it's good business, and a year from now I am sure we can show you that it has paid. I mean paid in dollars and cents. There are other values that seem more important to some of us. But you can't argue for any way of doing business, you know, unless you can show that it pays.

Connecting Men and Jobs

ALL three of these cities which have established permanent machinery for dealing with unemployment have recognized the importance of adequate employment services. Here, as in the stabilization programs, their plans have included both long-term and emergency efforts. In Indianapolis, there is a state-city employment office which, like most such institutions, is only a vestigial remnant of the war-time set up. For some years, the office was in the basement of the State House, in cramped and dirty rooms near some open toilets. The total annual budget is only $4000, with an untrained director at a salary of $1800. This office has now been moved to quarters that are at least sanitary, in the vestibule of a semi-public building. "The first dog show they want to hold, they'll kick us out of here," I was told. "But at least we are out of that basement, and we'll never go back there."

Indianapolis has a second free employment office, which has been supported by the Indianapolis Foundation for the past six years. This has an annual budget of $12,000 and a trained director who late in the fall was loaned to the Committee on Stabilization to organize and direct a made-work program of relief. At the time I was in Indianapolis this program, which had been in operation less than three weeks, was giving three days of work a week to about 450 men, at thirty cents an hour. A good many people with whom I talked in Indianapolis felt that the made-work program would be continued beyond the present emergency, with a skeleton organization which could be quickly pulled together during "normal" winters to help tighten the seasonal slack in employment.

In Cincinnati, there is again the familiar story of a free employment service, built up to real community usefulness during the War, and allowed to slip down into comparative ineffectiveness in the past ten years. It is housed in unattractive and none-too-clean quarters, and obviously lacks adequate appropriation and trained personnel. The Permanent Committee is working toward the establishment of a model employment office, privately financed for several years, with the expectation that it will be carried forward under state-city auspices at the end of the demonstration period.

Rochester employers have as a rule done their hiring at their own gates or turned to the placement bureau operated by the Employers' Association. The Civic Committee, in its original plan of work, laid out for itself the task of coordinating the activities of public and private employment agencies. The city was recently selected, because of its active unemployment committee, as the location for one of the two model employment offices that are to be opened by the New York Labor Department this winter. The second will be in New York City. Both will be adequately financed for a three- to five-year period. "This is going to push our whole program two years ahead," Mr. Harman told me.

Public Works

THE use of public works to stabilize business is a familiar prescription for curing "hard times." When private business slackens, it is argued, public construction should be pushed, not only to give employment to artisans but because orders for material will start an endless chain of business activity.

The communities that have experimented with this remedy during the current emergency are sharply divided as to its effectiveness. In weighing the merits of this conflict, it is necessary to keep clearly in mind the type of public-works contract under discussion, a distinction not always clearly made by those who condemn this method of shortening the curves of private industry. Two kinds of public-works contracts are being thrown into the winter's situation: there are those which are the result of genuine long-term plans, contracts for public improvements which have been passed, for which funds are available, and which have been laid aside, ticketed "for emergency use"; there are also to be considered the "emergency" efforts to reduce the depression by hastily passing appropriations to push forward work for which no plans are ready and for which, in many cases, a site or a right of way has not even been secured.

Colonel Sherrill outlined for me Cincinnati's long-range plan. A five-year coordinated program of public works was several years ago laid out by the city, the county and the school board, each a separate taxing unit in the Cincinnati area. It is revised each year. In the present emergency, under this plan, the University of Cincinnati has pushed ahead its building program, a new hospital is being built at the county home, and the city is spending more on streets and sewers than in any previous year. A three-million dollar viaduct is being built across Mill Creek Valley, and the city and the Union Terminal Company are going ahead on the new terminal which, when completed, will represent a seventy-million-dollar improvement.

Now no one can say [Colonel Sherrill pointed out] whether all this activity is cutting down the number of unemployed by two or five or ten thousand men. No one can measure exactly what this building program is accomplishing locally or in other communities which are affected by orders for material and so on. But I do not see, either, how anyone can deny that it is a very real help in the

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present situation. I mean by that a practical help, and also a psychological help. I do not see how any community can omit public works from a program for stabilizing industry and cutting down unemployment. On the other hand, I think Cincinnati and every other community that is experimenting along these lines has a lot to learn about planning and scheduling public works, and about how to recognize the psychological moment to speed up and slacken down on public construction.

In Cincinnati, in addition to the long-term plan, a nine-million-dollar bond issue for street widening and a sewer project was voted as an emergency measure. Commenting on this effort to alleviate local unemployment, one member of the Permanent Committee said to me:

In figuring out why it has had little or no effect on the unemployment situation, you have to realize first, that nearly two-thirds of the total amount goes into condemnation proceedings, land purchase and so on. The actual sum to be spent on labor and material is relatively small. And not a cent of it will be spent for several months.

This critic cited the numbers of men employed on public works in Cincinnati during the fall of 1930 when every effort was made to speed up public construction, and in the fall of 1929, when private construction was booming.

	Employed on public works by city and county	
	Part time	Full time
Nov. 15, 1929	0	847
Nov. 15, 1930	508	1265
	Employed by contractors working for city and county	
Nov. 15, 1929	0	1426
Nov. 15, 1930	365	1156

Another member of the Permanent Committee holds that this is not a fair picture:

Public works should never be viewed as an emergency measure, in one sense. That is, a long-term plan—city, state, and national—is needed, and it should be a detailed plan, down to blueprints and specifications. Then when a depression strikes, public works can be got under way within a few weeks. Further, those who hold that public works accomplish little are taking a very narrow view. I think the most important effect of an active public construction program is psychological. It is bound to help banish the mood of fear and apprehension which paralyzes private business, and which is the real cause of a lot of our hard times.

Vocational Guidance

IN Rochester I talked with a thin, pale young woman who had had no job but irregular "housework by the hour" for two months. A younger brother, crippled by infantile paralysis, was dependent on her earnings. "Millinery is my trade," she said. "It's nice work. But before I went into it, I wisht I'd known how overcrowded the trade is. You hardly got a job, even in good times."

I thought of that girl as Dean Weld of Rochester University told me about the plans and projects of the sub-committee on vocational guidance and training, of which he is chairman. The committee is made up, he told me, "of people who are training youth for occupations, both in industry and in the schools." For the present, the Committee is surveying its field and defining its problem. It has appealed to the Fact Finding Committee to try to discover whether the adequately trained are suffering more or less than the unskilled in the present emergency. Dean Weld's committee is listing the available literature in its field, locating people equipped and ready to carry forward research projects, making an analytical chart of the vocational training facilities in the community, and working out a record-keeping system of vocational training, work histories and so on.

In one way, this is the longest, slowest side of the Civic Committee's work [Dean Weld pointed out]. We have to talk not about next winter, or the next depression, but about the next generation. In the end, broader vocational training, adapted not only to the ambitions and desires of boys and girls but to business activity and the condition of the job market, will help stabilize employment, and help people move on to a new job if their old one runs out on them.

Relief and Reserves

MOST communities are nearly swamped with the problem of unemployment relief this winter. The cities which have a permanent organization (*Continued on page* 512)

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(*Continued from page* 511) to deal with unemployment find some phases of their long-range program buried under the immediate need to provide food, clothing, shelter, medical care for the jobless and their families. In Rochester, the headquarters of the Civic Committee on Unemployment has served as a clearing house for supplies, particularly foodstuffs, donated for the unemployed and also, in many instances, for applications for work and for available jobs.

In Indianapolis, as has already been told, and also in Cincinnati, the permanent committee has cooperated with other agencies in setting up a "made-work" program, as a constructive and self-respecting way of giving relief, from the individual and the community viewpoint. In Cincinnati, a restaurant, run by well-organized volunteers, takes the place of breadlines and soup kitchens which, many communities find, attract "floaters" and fail to relieve the actual want of self-respecting workers who are temporarily jobless. The Cincinnati restaurant serves simple, but adequate meals twice a day. Any hungry man will be fed once, but by a simple and ingenious "ticket" system he must be able to prove, in applying for subsequent meals, that he has worked in the parks or in the city woodyard. This "work test" is omitted in the case of the aged or the disabled.

I did not find in any of the three cities definite plans under way for building up "employment reserves" that would help tide workers over slack times in the future. Rochester has the example of the joint fund set up by employers and employes in the men's clothing industry, under the leadership of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. So far as I could discover, however, no other local firm or industry is now working on the adaptation of that scheme to its particular needs. Nor did I find in any of these permanent organizations a sub-committee charged with the responsibility of studying the insurance principle as applied to the hazard of unemployment, and bringing together the available material on public and private experiments along this line, in this country and abroad. Governor Roosevelt of New York has, at this writing, summoned a conference of the governors of six industrial states to discuss an American plan of unemployment insurance, and how it might be put into effect without penalizing the state or the industries adopting it. The results of that conference will be available as this issue comes from the press. In the handling of this thorny problem, those cities which have set-ups through which they can study and discuss unemployment insurance have an advantage over communities in which there is no means for employers, labor, social workers and public officials to come together and consider it.

As I was so often reminded on this trip, one cannot measure accurately the accomplishments of these efforts to deal constructively with the unemployment problem. The committees or commissions are new and frankly experimental. Only Cincinnati had time to get up any momentum before the present depression, and even in Cincinnati, the slump came before the work of the various groups was more than well under way. But, as Colonel Procter pointed out to me:

> This depression is different from any we've had before. The thing that makes it different is the new attitude of employers. They are facing their responsibility. They are doing everything in their power to keep from laying off people, even if they lose money by keeping them on. That never happened before. It's a big step ahead. If the employers accept their responsibility for steady work they can do a great deal toward making it possible.

If the employers accept their responsibility, there is every reason for the bankers, the merchants, the public officials, the labor leaders and social workers of the country to accept theirs. And these new long-range civic set-ups offer a channel through which this new leadership may function. They, of course, have no control over the major causes of business depression, but they can mitigate the consequences of cyclical depression, and they can strengthen the local fabric of livelihood in good times in a way which will ease hard times, and will counter the drains of "normal" unemployment when times are good. If one were to visualize the objectives ahead of these local commissions, once the whole wheel of their program were turning, it would be something like this:

A community which would know each month, if not each day, not only the extent of its unemployment, but its opportunities and prospects for employment.

A community in which the public utilities, the manufacturing establishments, the building contractors, and so on, would be as conscious of the need for stabilization as they are now of the need for industrial safety, and in which that consciousness would be working steadily throughout the year, in all lines of employment, large and small.

A community with an employment service as effective as its fire department, its post office, its banks, or its insurance offices.

A community with a long range program for budgeting its public works over a ten-year period, so that city, county, school-board, sanitary projects can be thrown in when industrial operations fall off.

A community with adequate opportunity for broad vocational training as well as for acquiring isolated technical skills, and in which school children and their parents and teachers use to the full a comprehensive vocational guidance and counseling program.

A community which has thought through its relief program, and which has reconsidered the responsibility which its industries, its well-to-do citizens, its social agencies, its tax funds and its wage-earners' households bear toward carrying the risk of broken work due to industrial causes.

A community which will have, through it all, a permanent set-up, dealing with employment plans and problems, as competent and as adequately staffed and financed as its health or educational set-up.

A MERCHANT LOOKS AT STABILIZATION

(*Continued from page* 492)

every incentive to encourage the manufacturing company to achieve regular, economical operation. It does this by making known its needs for total quantities of shoes well in advance of the season. As a result the McElwain Company probably operates as steadily and as cheaply as any shoe-manufacturing concern in the country.

The unemployment which accompanies the down-swing of the business cycle is a topic present in every mind at this time. Even a superficial examination of the causes of a major business recession is bound to include recognition of the prominent part played by over-production. Over-production represents in its simplest terms a lack of coordination between production and distribution. If more goods are produced than the market will absorb, there has obviously been an error in judgment on the part of the manufacturer. A closer tie-up with the retailer might have prevented this error from being so flagrant. We still know so little how to diagnose the beginning of a general down-swing in business that the retailer is as likely to be swept away by the optimism of a boom period as the manufacturer. If both acquire the habit of jointly investigating the prospects of business, the chances are that more precise and sober judgments will be gradually built up.

How can the degree of cooperation which now exists between certain retailers and manufacturers be broadened to include a major representation of producers and distributors in the principal trades?

Some precedents may be found in the trade-association movement. Manufacturers in certain trades (for example, farm equipment, hardware, knit goods) have seen the desirability of regularly including representative retailers in some of their deliberations. The Federal Trade Commission appears to be more inclined to seek representation of distributors in its trade practice conferences. The movement for doing away with unethical practices in trade transactions most recently sponsored by the National Retail Dry Goods Association, has necessarily involved the joint cooperation of manufacturers and retailers. I happen to have been chairman of the committee of the National Retail Dry Goods Association which had this matter in charge.

At one or two meetings of business men I have had occasion to suggest the desirability of establishing bodies which I have referred to as Business Men's Institutes. My thought has been, and that of other business men with whom I have discussed the problem, that beginning in one or two trades it might be desirable to start a series of informal conferences between leading manufacturers and retailers. They would have no authority to legislate for the industry, yet if they were representative in the sense that they included small as well as large manufacturers and distributors, and were composed of men whom the trade would naturally look to for leadership, their influence would, I believe, be far out of proportion to their numbers or authority.

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Some of the topics which such institutes might profitably hope to discuss would be:

1. The salability of existing types of merchandise, or of new merchandise the manufacturer is planning to offer.

2. Popular price levels for different types of merchandise. The pricing of a car has come to be a major element in the merchandising strategy of the various automobile companies. Yet how many manufacturers of a variety of commodities are concerned not so much with determining the income range which their article can most wisely be constructed to reach as they are with what their competitor is charging and whether on that basis their own price is too high or two low?

3. The possibility of overcoming the purely seasonal appeal of certain kinds of merchandise.

4. The whole movement for eliminating needless varieties of sizes and styles in a manufacturer's offerings, known as the simplification movement, would be bound to receive an important impetus from the sharing of information between producers and distributors through these suggested institutes. An examination conducted not long ago among the members of a department-store buying group showed that there were on sale in these stores thirty different makes of a common household utensil. On the other hand, 85 per cent of the sales of this article by these stores were made on six of the thirty kinds and the other 15 per cent of sales could have been made from four other makes. Obviously, the rate of turnover on most of these items was painfully slow. There is little doubt that the business of several of these manufacturers could have been made more profitable if instead of insisting that the store carry their "full line" (a frequent merchandising practice) they had investigated in order to find out the relative turnover of the different items of their line.

I do not believe that collective judgments by manufacturers and retailers should supplant the initiative of the single manufacturer or the single merchant. The type of original thinking which has enabled a man to push his way into the ranks of the successful will still be his greatest asset in business. However, even the shrewdest business man may go astray for want of facts, which he simply cannot accumulate unaided. It is to fill in the gaps of the producer's or distributor's information, to give him reliable raw material out of which to shape his ideas, that I foresee the great usefulness of business men's institutes.

What we need chiefly to prevent unemployment is to gear our systems of manufacturing and distribution closer together, so that the goods which the manufacturer produces slip rapidly into the stocks of the retail distributor and then out into the consumer's hands. When business men, merchants, and manufacturers shall have learned to think and plan their business future together, they will without any sacrifice of true individuality, be in a position not only to avoid the worst results of seasonal slumps but in large measure the disastrous recessions of the business cycle.

WHEN SHUTDOWN CAME

(*Continued from page* 480)

the time of the shutdown the strong recommendation of her employers opened up a new kind of opportunity in a responsible position. In contrast to her old job as an industrial wage-earner at about $23 a week, her present position is that of a sales executive at $35 a week. She has not only improved her earnings but has entered into a new world entirely different from that of a factory worker. Her work consists in planning window displays and other matters related to sales promotion.

Several similar cases of transfer from the industrial to the business world could be cited. One girl had changed her name, and was very fearful that her new associates would discover the shameful fact that she had once worked in a factory.

In passing, it may be of interest to call attention to the extent to which some families have allowed themselves to run into debt (generally in preference to applying for charity). The Andante family, consisting of the parents and four children—all of wage-earning age—had, in the course of four or five months contracted loans aggregating some $1700. They borrowed from the Morris Plan, industrial banks, mutual associations, and small-loan com-

(*Continued on page* 514)

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(*Continued from page* 513) panies. The weekly payments due on these loans total $35.20, which exceeds the family's entire weekly income. It is a mystery how they ever succeeded in negotiating such an overwhelming volume of loans. At any rate, the way things now stand they can scarcely lose anything—the family is in effect bankrupt and it is the creditors who are likely to suffer.

It will be evident that the dismissal wage for long-service workers is not here urged as a panacea for the problem of unemployment. Its inadequacies are patent to any careful student. Not all workers were thus protected. Length-of-service requirements may have been too severe. In our more theoretical moments, we may regard the dismissal wage as but a poor substitute either for a life pension or for a well-paid and steady job. But in the United States and in 1929-30, it stands out as a good beginning.

THIS Company, for the first time on a large scale, started a useful experiment to which American industry should give serious consideration and which many firms would do well to imitate. Its main purpose has been to lessen the burden, as a measure of alleviation. There is, however, a further possibility that a formalized use of the dismissal wage may have a preventive effect. The Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), for instance, is developing a policy designed to achieve this end. This is not yet crystallized but its lines of development are already clear. Various adjustments range from two weeks' notice after five years of service, through a dismissal wage increasing with length of service and age up to a pension for life. ". . . . In cases where it is impossible to continue the employe in his regular position an attempt is first made to have him transferred to another department of the same plant or company. If such transfer cannot be arranged . . . it must be reported to New York where an attempt is made to have him transferred to another plant or subsidiary. . . . As a last resort . . . the practice in such cases is to pay a permanent lay-off allowance." *This payment is charged against the plant as part of its current operating expenses.* Managers of subsidiaries are therefore under a strong financial incentive to think twice and thrice before laying off a regular employe on account of lack of work.[1]

We have no hesitation in saying that, given the necessity for shutdown, the dismissal-wage policy adopted in New Haven was successful in facilitating the readjustment of many workers. With all its admitted defects, it made a strong appeal to the workers' sense of justice and left an impression of equitable treatment which all the various consequent misfortunes have not impaired in the slightest degree. Among the twelve hundred workers interviewed in the course of this investigation, less than a dozen gave any evidence of resentment at their treatment by the Company, while the vast majority, even of those not receiving a dismissal wage, went out of their way, at the time of our interviews, to express their appreciation of the Company's policy and to voice their own good-will toward their former employers. The U. S. Rubber Company, therefore, may take its place among the industrial leaders in America, as yet all too few, which have in their several ways rendered specific contributions toward at least partial solutions of the problem of unemployment.

[1] The need for some measure of alleviation is clearly evidenced in: E. O. Lundberg, Unemployment and Child Welfare (U. S. Children's Bureau, No. 125, 1923); Philip Klein, The Burden of Unemployment (N. Y. 1923); Paul U. Kellogg, Henry Ford's Hired Men, When Mass Production Stalls (The Survey, LIX, 1928); Beulah Amidon, Toledo, a City the Auto Ran Over (ibid, LXIII, 1930); Helen Hall, How Unemployment Strikes Home (ibid, LXIII, 1929).

For further discussion of the dismissal wage and related devices see E. A. Ross, The Social Trend (N. Y. 1922), chap. 12. R. J. Myers, Occupational Readjustment of Displaced Skilled Workers (Jour. Pol. Econ., Aug. 1929). The Dismissal Wage (Mo. Labor Review, April 1930). C. M. Vary, Special Retirement Allowances (Am. Manage. Assoc., Gen. Manage. Series No. 89, 1929). Lay-off and Its Prevention (Nat. Ind. Confer. Board, 1930), p. 59, seq. D. J. Orchard, Japan's Cheap Labor (Pol. Sc. Quar., June 1929. Describing a similar traditional Japanese practice.) The Manchester Guardian, Aug. 12, 1929 (describing Messrs. Rowntree's practice). Associated Industries of Mass., Industrial Relations Conference, press release of Feb. 21, 1930. The New York Times, July 17, 1930, and Sept. 11, 1930 (Michelin Tire Co. shutdown and dismissal bonus). Miscellaneous hearings on and discussions of the Huber Bill (Wisconsin). Unemployment in the U. S. (Hearings before the Committee on Education and Labor, etc. U. S. Senate . . . Wash., 1929.) Factory and Industrial Management, March 1930: The Dismissal Wage, What the U. S. Rubber Company Did When It Closed Two Plants. E. S. Cowdrick: Nation's Business, Oct. 1930: Dulling the Axe of Dismissal. Mr. Cowdrick refers to the dismissal wage as "industrial alimony," a very apt term.

HOW SHALL THE DOCTOR BE PAID?

(*Continued from page* 502)

tenacity and ingenuity in purchasing, is shown in the tale of sandalwood oil capsules, one of the drugs it uses in quantity. At first the price paid to American manufacturers was $23 per 1000. Then it was found that by buying direct from Germany, the capsules could be had for $6 per 1000. Confronted by the loss of large orders, an American manufacturer met the German price, and again for some time, the capsules were bought in this country. Then, when it again became time to renew the contracts, the American price again rose, and miraculously enough, at one time from each of the competing firms came a bid of precisely the same amount. So back went the contract to Germany, and the German manufacturer, on the strength of it, bought American machinery for making the capsules so that his product would be precisely the same as that to which the Institute doctors were accustomed. The Institute, it may be pointed out, is buying in the same markets as the American wholesalers and, of course, cannot match their orders in volume. Yet buying at the source, discounting all bills, advancing money, if necessary, to cover importations or machinery needed in special processes, it can cut to a fraction of the usual cost the drugs it dispenses to its patients and show a surplus on the operations of that department.

Since the first year the income of the Institute has exceeded its expenses. After all bills had been paid on January 1, 1931 (including of course, salaries to its staff of more than eighty persons, among whom are thirty-three full-time and four part-time physicians) its operations over a period of ten years and ten months showed an invested surplus of approximately a million dollars. Out of surplus earnings, moreover, the Institute has contributed approximately $513,000 for research, philanthropy, and education in the field of venereal disease. In 1929, the last year for which detailed figures are yet available, these grants and the Institute's free services to its own patients who had fallen on hard times, amounted to $54,006.49, divided as follows: to the University of Chicago for research, $12,000; to the Social Hygiene Council for education and educational expenses, $6154.09; to the Illinois Social Hygiene League and to St. Luke's Hospital for free treatment of venereal disease, $12,000 each; and for free treatments given at the Institute itself, $11,852.40. In a little less than eleven years the Institute has paid out $1,090,000 in medical salaries, probably a relatively larger return to the medical profession, taking income and expenditures into account, than could be shown by any medical institution of a philanthropic or public nature.

THIS record is one of which a business man might well be proud. The Public Health Institute started without capital—except the guarantee fund of $25,000 against which $11,000 was contributed the first year. By the end of the second year there was more than $17,000 cash on hand. Since then it has increased its plant some fifty fold, made donations which have no analogue in the usual balance sheets of corporations, provided its "customers" with a more reasonable service than they could get elsewhere, and accumulated a very large surplus to offset depreciation and safeguard its continuance.

A mere balance sheet, however, is not an adequate record, especially for an organization concerned with so important and delicate a service as the care of the sick. Doctors, patients, and the community at large are concerned with further questions: What is the quality of medical service that the Institute has given to this enormous group of patients? What sort of people does it reach? What of its relationship to the medical profession and the other groups concerned with the care of the sick in Chicago? Does this sort of "mass production" compete unfairly with other necessary forms of medical service, or destroy the morale of patients? Is it using methods which undercut high standards of medical practice?

An answer to the first of these questions was given unequivocally a little less than a year ago when three eminent specialists in the treatment of venereal disease were invited to

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visit the institute and appraise its professional work. The three specialists were Dr. Harold N. Cole, professor of dermatology and syphilology at Western Reserve University in Cleveland; Dr. Edwin L. Keyes, professor of genito-urinary surgery at Cornell University, New York; and Dr. Thomas L. Parran, Jr., then assistant surgeon-general of the U. S. Public Health Service, now health commissioner of New York State.

They agreed jointly that the service of the Public Health Institute, while of a lower grade than the best university clinics, is superior to the average public clinic or the average general practitioner of medicine, and that the Institute "had demonstrated the possibility of giving efficient diagnosis and treatment on a large scale and on a more economic basis than has been possible elsewhere." They found that patients continued under treatment "singularly well"; that privacy was well provided for; that the relation of physician to patient was a friendly, if somewhat impersonal one; and that the attitude towards patients who could not pay the usual fee was reasonably generous.

On the other hand they felt that improvements could be made in record-keeping, follow-up of patients and their families, and in a number of other administrative ways. They recommended a reorganization of staff to free the present director for administrative work by the appointment of two clinic chiefs for syphilis and for gonorrhea, respectively, to take over the professional responsibility for these branches. This major recommendation was acted upon in December 1929 by the appointment of Dr. Walter M. Brunet, a well-known specialist in gonorrhea, consultant to the U. S. Public Health Service and the New York City Department of Health, on full time as clinic chief for gonorrhea, while a similar appointment as clinic chief for syphilis will be made shortly.

THE three specialists remarked that "the great bulk of the clientele of the Institute is drawn from a small-income group." One common charge against clinics in general is that they take patients who can afford to pay private doctors' fees, and so undermine the cornerstone of current medical organization. At the Public Health Institute, of course, in contrast to free clinics or those with a nominal or partial fee, the patient pays his full way and a little more. But could he, as has sometimes been charged, have afforded to pay what private practice costs? For the whole 172,753 no answer is at hand, as patients are not questioned about income routinely. Last year, however, a study was made of 3000 consecutive patients admitted between January 2 and March 24. All but one gave the information requested. Three quarters of them had incomes of less than $2000 a year, and one quarter were under the $1000 mark. The median income for the group was $1431.21 a year. Only 5 per cent earned more than $3000. Of the 3000, 1359 had no one else dependent upon them for support; the remaining 1641 patients averaged two dependents apiece.

The greatest number of patients of the Institute are young men in their early twenties—truckmen, shipping clerks, unskilled office workers, or minor salesmen. A majority are helping to support wives, children, parents, or other relatives. At even the Institute's rates, that year's treatment of syphilis at $185 would be a tough problem for the family with $2000 or the clerk at $20 a week. Every figure at hand seems to indicate this rank and file of patients are stretching their incomes to the utmost of their ability to buy this sort of medical service. If it were not available, undoubtedly many of them would be faced with the choice of doing without or asking for charity from a free clinic (in many cases interfering with their working hours) or an individual doctor. From this representative sampling it would seem fair to conclude that people who have the money to pay a private physician are likely to invest in that added degree of privacy and personal attention, just as people who can afford Lincolns usually do not stop at a Ford. For a great number of self-respecting and responsible people, however, the Institute, like the Ford, has provided an efficient and workable service within their means.

Unfortunately the aspect in which the Public Health Institute has come most frequently to the attention of the newspaper-reading public and the physicians has been through its controversies with the Chicago Medical (*Continued on page* 516)

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World Unity Magazine

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, *Editor* — HORACE HOLLEY, *Managing Editor*
4 EAST 12th STREET — NEW YORK CITY

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Will *You* Help Prepare for the Next International Disarmament Conference?

"The world can be disarmed if the people wish. The question is, Do the peoples wish for disarmament? Only they can give the answer."

Lord Cecil made this statement at the closing session of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission.

Need of pressure from public opinion in support of disarmament, if the coming International Disarmament Conference is to succeed, was the principal theme of the fifteen delegates who spoke at this session.

To make articulate public opinion and to indicate that the peoples of the world *do* wish for Disarmament, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is now circulating simultaneously in forty countries a petition calling for *Real* Disarmament, to be presented first to the government of the country in which the signatures are secured and then carried to the International Disarmament Conference.

Millions of signatures must be obtained to make this petition effective. This work must be pushed vigorously as the Conference will be held early in 1932.

Will you help by signing in the space below? With your signature will you please send a contribution to help the work that must be carried on with zeal and determination all over the world?

The Petition is as follows:

"The undersigned men and women, irrespective of party, are convinced that competition in armaments is leading all countries to ruin without giving security; that this policy renders future wars inevitable and that these will be wars of extermination; that governmental assurances of peaceful policy will be valueless as long as those measures of Disarmament are delayed that should be the first result of the pact for the renunciation of war.

They therefore ask for total and universal Disarmament and request their government formally to instruct its delegates to the next Disarmament Conference to examine all proposals for Disarmament that have been or may be made, and to take the necessary steps to achieve real Disarmament."

Name .....

Address .....

Send to

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

1805 H. Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

(*Continued from page* 515) Society. In 1920 the Chicago Medical Society declared that the Institute was violating professional ethics by its newspaper advertising. During the latter part of that year the trustees discontinued advertising, but in 1921 it was resumed and has been carried on continuously since that time through newspapers, posters, and more recently street-car cards. The trustees believe that not only general publicity, but also specific information as to a place where advice and treatment may be obtained is essential to enlist the interest of many people who need care and to combat quackery, an especially important obligation in the case of an agency which deals with diseases dangerous to public health and with groups of people who may not be in touch with competent medical facilities within their means. At the start newspaper advertising brought about two thirds of the patients of the Institute, but each year, as the service has become better known, the number of patients who come because of it has been declining relatively, while the percentage who know of the work through other patients has steadily increased. At the present time newspaper advertising is the direct source of about a quarter of the Institute's clientele, while posters bring about a third, and information or suggestion from friends is responsible for nearly 40 per cent. Aside from its value as a source of patients, advertising is important in keeping patients awake to the importance of continued treatment, and in furthering public education.

As several times unavailing efforts have been made to reconcile the difference of the Chicago Medical Society and the Institute, or to come to a working agreement. The Institute has continued without the Society's approval. With one or two exceptions, physicians on the staff of the Institute have not been members of the Society. In one instance an eminent Chicago physician, Dr. Louis E. Schmidt, has been expelled from the Chicago Medical Society and hence from membership in the American Medical Association because of his indirect connection with an "unethical" institution, through the fact that the Illinois Social Hygiene League, of which he was president, accepted a grant of $12,000 a year from the Public Health Institute to pay for treatment of indigent patients. On the ground that they were equally responsible, two other physicians who were directors of the Illinois Social Hygiene League, Dr. Rachelle Yarros, formerly associate professor of obstetrics, University of Illinois, and now professor of social hygiene, Medical Department, University of Illinois, and Dr. Herman Bundesen, formerly health commissioner and now coroner of Chicago, resigned from the Chicago Medical Society.

Recently, however, professional relationships between the Institute and the Society have been altered through the formation of a Medical Advisory Board of the Institute, composed of seven well-known Chicago physicians, to guide its professional policies as does the medical board of a hospital. Members of the Board include among others the chief of the medical staff, Cook County (Illinois), Hospital; dean of the Northwestern University Dental School; attending physician, Wesley Memorial Hospital; head of the Department of Pathology, as well as a professor of clinical medicine, of the University of Chicago. In a statement of policies and organization drawn up by the Medical Board and the trustees, following conferences in which specialists in public health and related fields took part, it was agreed that publicity was necessary to fight quackery and to reach people not in touch with medical facilities and may be used under the following conditions:

The announcements, advertisements, or publications should be primarily educational. They should not solicit patients. They should call attention to the importance of adequate care of health, the advantage of diagnosis and treatment in early stages of disease and other features of public-health value. They should indicate the types of care available for persons in various circumstances, in private practice and through organizations, as well as those furnished by the Institute. In mentioning the Institute, they should state its facilities in a dignified way, without laudation, and without mention of individual physicians.

The trustees of the Institute have the responsibility for all its announcements, advertisements, and publications, and for preventing their misuse. The form and content of all such publicity should

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be satisfactory to the Medical Board of the Institute, as provided in the plan of organization. Accuracy in subject matter combined with effectiveness and dignity of expression is important.

In accordance with this agreement the recent advertisements of the Public Health Institute (see page 501) call attention to the various resources available for treatment of venereal diseases, including the private practitioner. The advertising texts approved by the Medical Advisory Board for use in Chicago have also been employed by the American Social Hygiene Association in educational campaigns in Boston and in the Bellevue-Yorkville Health Demonstration in New York City. It is interesting and important that the money power represented by the Public Health Institute's advertising has been effective in breaking down the old newspaper taboo against the frank publication of the words syphilis and gonorrhea, an accomplishment which social and health agencies have desired for years to promote honesty and accuracy in public understanding of social hygiene.

Unlike many of the well-known clinics in universities and medical centers, the Public Health Institute does not include research or the training of medical students among its purposes, though the trustees and the Medical Advisory Board agree that clinical and statistical studies should be carried on systematically as a basis for self-criticism and a means of stimulating and developing the professional staff. The sole aim of the Institute is to provide good medical treatment for the venereal diseases with the ecenomy, efficiency, and convenience that is possible through large-scale operations. In this it faces many of the problems and possibilities of a business, but it is essentially different from a commercial enterprise in that there is no thought for profits. There are no shareholders to watch for dividends. All members of the staff are on salaries, which are adequate but moderate, according to professional standards. The benefits of "big business" are reflected in the low rate of fees to patients and in the accumulated surplus which is invested to give a return for the Institute's own work and continuance, and, as has been mentioned above, for subsidies to wider undertakings in education, research, and philanthropy concerned with venereal disease. The fact that patients continue under treatment "remarkably well" is evidence of the success of the Institute's staff in developing a good relationship with their patients, since studies of venereal disease clinics have shown repeatedly that this is the most important factor in holding a patient under treatment which is time-consuming, costly, and often painful and may require continuance for years.

IN short, the Public Health Institute is probably the outstanding American example of one answer to the question to which Survey Graphic gave a whole issue in January, 1930: How shall the doctor be paid? Its answer is—by the patient who gets medical care within moderate means through a large organization under responsible professional direction without profit or charity to or by anyone. That there is place for this kind of a solution, among others, to problems of medical costs, is evinced not only by the stream of people who have sought the Public Health Institute but also by the rapid growth and expansion of clinics of all kinds throughout the country and their expansion upward, economically speaking, to include middle-class and well-to-do people by charging fees which cover the full cost, including a fair return to the doctor.

"The thing we like to emphasize," says Dr. Berkowitz, "is that here is the sort of thing anyone can do. We didn't wait until we had money for a building or an endowment. We just went ahead to give something that people needed at prices which paid for the service and still were within their own means, and careful planning and conscientious professional work did the rest." Though Dr. Berkowitz himself would not accept the postscript, it must be added that the planning that has raised the Institute to its present level has been not only careful but uncommonly able and enterprising. For the organization of medical service it has shown the same sort of flair for combining volume and worth that a compatriot has made famous in producing a certain moderate-priced automobile.

DEBATE

Friday Evening,

JANUARY 30, 8:30 p.m.

HEYWOOD BROUN AND NORMAN THOMAS

versus

CLARENCE DARROW AND ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS

HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH, Chairman

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at MECCA TEMPLE
133 West 55th St.

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for the Use of Those Definitely Seeking the Way to a New Social Order

THE SOCIAL SERVICE BULLETIN

Editors, Professor Harry F. Ward, Winifred L. Chappell

Published semi-monthly except in July and August by the Methodist Federation for Social Service.

(A membership publication, but available to anyone interested at $1 a year.)

Some topics recently considered in the research numbers of the Bulletin:

Recent Economic Trends.
Our Occupation of Haiti.
Russia and Religion.
Farmers' Cooperatives and the Rural Community.
The New Persecutions (of radical workers.)
Our Colored Fellow Citizens.
Responsibility for an Unemployment Program.
The United States and World Economic Depression.
What About the Stock Market?

The Bulletin is used by preachers and church leaders, professors and students, labor leaders, forum leaders, social workers, editors, rank and file folk.

For sample copies write to Harry F. Ward, 150 Fifth Ave., New York.

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newfound love. Indeed, the agency has been the Cyrano of the play—it has actually written the love letters. What my friend Stuart Chase loves to call "the high-pressure boys in the copy cubicles" have sung, not arms and the man, but service. What railroad of the gay and swashbuckling nineties would have hummed this lyric in the days when "The public be damned!" was the motto of every self-respecting colossus:

> We try to create and maintain a gracious atmosphere on our trains—we 70,000 who operate the B. & O. . . . Our engineers try to start and stop their trains without jar or jolt, making it easy to read in the daytime and easy to sleep at night.

The most curiously interesting fact is that today Big Business is not only unembarrassed by such language but comfortable under its implications. It enjoys its role of gentleman. And it profits thereby. What has happened to the ancient jokes about the telephone service?—they've all moved across to France; and the A. T. & T., with its subsidiaries, finds itself (except when it tries to boost rates) the bosom friend of some twenty million families and the support of thousands upon thousands of stockholders who know it only through its advertising. Who fears the great oil companies since they began building temples of service to provide the owners of twenty-three million cars with gasoline?

From my peak in Darien, I see the pacific waves of a gentler but mightier business ocean breaking upon a shore once ravaged by tidal giants amid which the Public was tossed like worthless flotsam. Who can say that, having been privileged to observe the phenomenon of such a change with the naked eye of a participant, I am not among the most favored of Fortune's children?

My advertising job has brought me into contact with another piece of evidence that modern business is working out a new economic order—the development of the chain store. The most recent report I have seen shows approximately 9000 chain store organizations doing business through more than 200,000 stores. The largest of these chain companies, known familiarly as the A. & P., conducts about 17,000 stores and does a business of more than a billion dollars annually—on a normal profit margin of only 2 per cent.

The chain growth is a modern phenomenon of far-reaching importance. I have had an opportunity to watch the attitude of the large producers toward the chain store change from armed hostility to cooperation, and the attitude of the public change from one of doubt and suspicion to almost complete acceptance. I have participated in arguments with economic romanticists who wept sympathetic tears for the independent store owner whose business was being stolen by the price-cutting, low-profit-margin chains; but I have never found a sound economist who believes that the chain principle is not one of the major solutions for the great problem of dealing with distribution costs. Centralized buying in quantities, well-organized routine selling practice, standardized accounting, standardized profit margins, taken together, must produce lower costs to the consumer, and lower costs to the consumer for equivalent value constitute one of the major objectives of economic thinking.

BUT contrary to the predictions of the romantics, chain-store growth has not meant the end of the independent storekeeper—he has learned a valuable lesson from it, has become (or is fast becoming) a cooperator with his brother independents. Cooperative or, as it is sometimes called, pooled buying, is spreading fast. A group of storekeepers form an association, sometimes highly organized, sometimes loose, through which they buy in quantities and at prices comparable with those of the chain, distributing their respective lots from a central warehouse or from the railroad freight depot. Result: lower prices to the consumer even from the independent. And from this series of developments are being deduced certain new laws of distribution which will replace the simpler precepts which those of us who went to school before the War found in our academic texts.

Another of the fundamental and challenging social-economic trends which my membership in the business army has given me to observe is the change in the attitude of employer towards employe. We still have our medieval coal mines and textile mills which believe in starvation wages and the big club of the company police force; but we also have thousands of organizations which share their profits with their workers and provide working conditions, modern as an office building.

This great change has not been brought about by the promulgation of economic theories or socialistic agitation—it has grown directly out of a new and enlightened kind of business thinking. The profit motive in business may be justly subject to much criticism, but it is a dynamic force and, when intelligently directed, can be a source of tremendous social as well as economic good. Every truly intelligent business man is closely watching the Soviet experiment which insists that it has written the death-warrant of the profit motive; but he is also seeing his own experiment running a course which he believes may achieve a more natural redistribution of wealth without the agonies attendant upon revolution and bureaucratic absolutism. Big Business not only has become a gentleman—it also is becoming humanized, and very largely by the operation of the profit-motive. The balance-sheets of the past have revealed the profit slaughter which results from strikes and labor wars, from industrial accidents, from illness, from extreme poverty. The modern-minded manufacturer is looking for his profits from employes who are healthy, well-fed, properly housed, protected from injury and guarded against the specter of poverty-stricken old age. Some, of whose achievements you have already read in Survey Graphic, have gone so far as to guarantee a full year of work in addition to providing opportunities for stock ownership, and profit sharing. Since many employers are born incorrigibly decent, it would be scarcely fair to attribute all modern humanity in business to the operation of the profit motive; yet, when he reports what seem to be costly humanitarian measures to his cost-accounting stockholders, even the high-minded industrialist usually finds himself well upholstered against accusations of altruism, by increasingly favorable profit figures.

SO much has been said and written about the American standard of living that only a reminder is needed to indicate the share which business has had in raising this standard to its present heights. It is scarcely to be supposed that, without some hope of profit on the part of inventor and manufacturer, we should be riding in modern motor-car luxury for a first cost of a few hundred dollars, dustlessly sweeping our homes with vacuum cleaners, washing and drying our clothes without getting our fingers wet, cooking our breakfasts with electricity, flying over continents at 150 miles an hour, listening in our own drawing-rooms to speeches by the King of England or to the Philadelphia Symphony, and manufacturing ice in our own kitchenettes. My place in advertising has brought me close to many of the efforts which have achieved these phenomena.

I have spent most of my allotted space in painting the prettier side of the business picture. There are plenty of ugliness; but the more objectively one views business as *both* a social and an economic terrain, the more one is encouraged to expect that it will eventually transform its swamps into grassy meadows.

Thinking which may appear to the non-business reader as somewhat pollyanacoluthic is supported by certain morsels of genuine evidence. I believe intelligent business itself would now be the first to admit, for example, that the responsibility for business depressions and their tragic accompaniment of unemployment lies at its own door, and that these misfortunes should no longer be looked upon as a curse laid upon us by some impalpable and mysterious "influence" which man can neither anticipate nor control. Undoubtedly, the technique of mass-production and highly organized distribution has shone so brilliantly that it has blinded business to the need for a broader technique of human adjustment.

We know now that gratuitous humanization of business does not solve the human problem. Stock ownership and profit sharing, while excellent steps in the direction of adjustment, can operate effectively in an emergency for the benefit only of

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the older employe who has enjoyed sufficiently continuous employment to accumulate a reserve. The younger man, and the man whose job may be suddenly endangered by style changes, seasonal selling and new labor-saving devices will remain in jeopardy on the end of the business limb until interest in their welfare becomes something more than a benevolent sentiment.

Under our present business system, it is vain to look for any general or effectively permanent measure of alleviation through the channel of humanitarian motives alone, partly because such motives themselves lack the quality of *continuum*. But it becomes increasingly clear that interest in employe welfare *can* be aroused by a practical appeal to the profit motive. The technique of employment regularization as already devised by certain companies has proved itself a positive profit factor. Once other manufacturers can be convinced that such a result is within the realm of their own possibilities, they will automatically achieve a certain degree of hindsight. Focussing their attention upon their individual problems through the glasses of employment regularization will show them that this technique prerequires a desirable degree of production regularity, sounder sales planning, better advertising, all of which would have a favorable bearing upon their profit curves and upon the regularity of business as a whole.

Just as preventive medicine offered the nineteenth century's greatest challenge to medical science, in its conquest over epidemics, so the prevention of cyclical depressions and periods of mass unemployment offers the twentieth century's greatest challenge to business. I live in the hope that before my tottering legs fail me completely I shall see business hoist the flag of victory over this battle field. The lessons learned during the current difficulty should be epochal. Not only have they torn away the veil of mystery from depression's major causes, but they have brought desirable publicity to many isolated efforts at regularization and concentrated the attention of the country upon the whole problem of industrial maladjustment, both cyclical and "normal," at a time when we are really *ready* to learn. From the timid query, "Can business cycles be prevented?" we appear to be moving towards a courageous affirmative, not only to this question but to the wider one, "Can the persistent unemployment of even prosperous times be prevented?"

NOT so very long ago, one of my lawyer friends said that, try as he would, he could not convince himself that the law was not a higher calling than business. I was not unkind enough to point out to him that, without his corporation practice, he would probably have been unable to pay his dues to the highly respectable club in which we were both so comfortably sitting; but I found myself comparing, by no means unfavorably, my own nine-to-five day with his. He is dealing very largely with precedents; I work in a constantly changing stream of new ideas and new solutions for old problems. He is chiefly concerned with getting people out of jams; I am concerned with helping people to have more conveniences. He draws wills; I furnish specifications for an easier life. He writes leases and mortgages; I write word pictures about the joys of the morning bath and the pleasures of motoring. His ego is satisfied; but so is mine, and unless I'm a complete washout as a psychologist, ego satisfaction is the be-all and end-all of life. I still expect to finish that novel. I ought to be able to find more and more time for tramps in the mountains. I can take the four-year-old Franklin for a workout at sixty when the spirit moves me. And, in odd moments, I can write a piece like this for Survey Graphic. Being in business really isn't so bad.

THE JOB LINE
(*Continued from page* 499)

phones, puts through a few calls, and the next day and every day after every man and woman still on the job line at noon get two husky sandwiches, an apple and a piece of chocolate.

By five or six o'clock every man in the big room has had his interview and the harried staff can attack the accumulated mass of clerical work. There is as much paper work necessary to placing and keeping this army (*Continued on page* 523)

In behalf of the six little PAPINOS

There's no doubt that more cleanliness will give the six little Papinos a better break in life. But there's even less doubt that busy Mrs. Papino will promptly veto any suggestion that sounds like more work for her.

A little diplomacy, however, may win her co-operation. The diplomacy of telling her how to achieve greater cleanliness in less time and with less effort. Fels-Naptha makes this possible because it gives *extra* help. The *extra* help of good golden soap and plentiful naptha. Working together, these two busy helpmates loosen stubborn, greasy dirt without hard rubbing. And in cool water as well as hot! That's really *extra* help!

Write Fels & Company, Philadelphia, Pa., for a sample bar of Fels-Naptha, mentioning the Survey Graphic.

The golden bar with the clean naptha odor

FELS-NAPTHA

"MODERN HOME EQUIPMENT"

Our new booklet is a carefully selected list of the practical equipment needed in an average-sized home. It is invaluable, alike to new and to experienced housekeepers — already in its eleventh edition. It considers in turn the kitchen, pantry, dining room, general cleaning equipment and the laundry, and gives the price of each article mentioned.

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Essays must be in the hands of the Executive Committee not later than March 31st, 1931.

For rules and other information apply to

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Julius Rosenwald Essay Contest
Dr. Samson Benderly, Chairman
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Traveler's Notebook

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LENINGRAD
THE VOLGA

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83 miles from Columbus Circle *Elevation 1,000 feet*
Hospitality that is unique. It brings back friends year after year. Eleventh season.
Riding Mountain climbing Winter sports
Or rest and and quiet if you want it. Interesting people.
Rates: $8 a day, $49 a week.
Telephone: New Milford 440.

Tours

THE fifth of the Hampton Institute tours, under the direction of A. Ogden Porter (Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.) will explore the Holy Land and Europe—July 18 to August 18. The trip will be closely linked with the courses to be given in the history of the Near East by Mr. Porter, and on Bible History by the Rev. William Lloyd Imes, minister of St. James Presbyterian Church of New York.

The International Institute of Teachers College, in cooperation with the Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht in Germany, the pedagogical department of the Second University of Moscow, and the Ministry of Public Instruction in France, will conduct a series of study tours next summer. While these tours are designed to acquaint American teachers and educators with the life and organization of foreign school systems, ample opportunity is afforded for intimate contact in other fields, such as music, art, drama, industry, agriculture, commerce, and politics. (Dr. Thomas Alexander, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York.)

Sherwood Eddy (347 Madison Avenue, New York) is recruiting candidates for his American Seminar to study first hand the economic, social, and political situations overseas. "This will be a summer of serious study with the significant leaders of Europe," writes Mr. Eddy, "and only persons who speak and write publicly and who can use their experience widely to promote international understanding are invited."

Seeing Europe

A First-timer's Impressions

Paris, December 3

. . . I'M a little self-conscious since a friend of mine wrote that I was just like all the other tourists and raved about the scenery. I tried to explain that out of the multitudinous reactions received, that was easiest to write about and probably the most compelling reaction.

Which may lead you to expect that we were in Switzerland—lovely Montreux which kept us longer than we planned; and the Rochers de Naye, I forget how many feet high, which we climbed. Our first experience. Great. Interlaken, Mürren, and the other tourist haunts.

The Austrian Tyrol we found every bit as thrilling as Switzerland. We were charmed with Innsbruck. It's just the sort of place you want to wander around leisurely for a real vacation. And Salzburg, the same—like a fairy-tale. We came for the last two days of the festival and saw Moissi in Jedermann. I can't possibly tell of the feeling I had sitting out of doors at the performance, in the midst of that crowd, in the center of that delightful little town. If I ever could spend a summer vacationing in Europe, I think I'd settle down for a good part of it in Salzburg.

In the meantime we had taken a three-day motor trip through the Dolomites and felt like exalted angels or something. I believe the Dolomites are unique in the world. Of soft composition, as you probably know, they have become gaunt and naked through the ages and are fantastic and unusual in form. I remember one peak that looked like a great Gothic cathedral.

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In addition, they change in coloring from the sun and shadow. I wouldn't have missed that trip. This whole section now belongs to Italy, and it's interesting to look for signs of suppression. It's very sad to see these proud mountain folk under Italian rule after a thousand years of German tradition. It's especially difficult for the children, who must learn Italian in school and whose parents speak German in the home. It's rather interesting to conjecture the rise of new dialects and customs resulting from the intermixture.

I've been especially interested in my contacts with people in the various countries, whom I had occasion to talk with, to discover their attitude toward the war—its results. I've been amazed and almost frightened by the depth of racial hatreds that exist between so many of the little countries. And the mental preparation for another war! Especially in Hungary —with so much of its territory gone, and a terrific poverty to face, with no resources at all. Many of them seem so bitter. And I really don't think I met just fanatics.

I wish the Survey Graphic would publish some information on Hungary; or at least the other side of the story in these small countries in Europe. Or maybe they have. I haven't seen a copy since I left home and occasionally I get rather lonesome for it. Perhaps you can mail me one.

We adored Budapest. If you missed it before, plan on it next time. We hated to tear ourselves away from Vienna after two weeks. We found it full of charm and fascination; though several of our friends who were there this summer were not as enthusiastic about it—so who can tell? ESTER RUBIN

Meetings

THERE is to be an Economic Conference of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Paris, April 9 to 11. For details, write to Frau Yella Hertzka, 11-III Tuchlauben, Vienna.

The World's Alliance of the Young Men's Christian Associations will hold its World's Conferences, for the first time in seventy-five years of existence, in America—July 17 to August 2 in Toronto; August 4 to 9 in Cleveland. (World's Committee of Y.M.C.A., 2, Rue Montchoisy, Geneva.)

Arrangements are afoot for the centenary meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in London September 23 to 30, under the presidency of General Smuts.

The Institute of Pacific Relations will foregather in China from October 21 to November 4, to discuss international economic relations in the Pacific area, with particular reference to China. Among those collaborating in working up the program are Jerome D. Greene of the Pacific Council; Charles F. Loomis of Honolulu; K. C. Li, New York merchant; Yusuke Tsurmi, liberal leader in Japan; J. W. Wheeler-Bennett of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London; Prof. R. C. Mills of the University of Sydney; Prof. Norman MacKenzie of the University of Toronto; J. B. Condliffe, research secretary of the Institute; Charles P. Howland of the Council on Foreign Relations; Edward C. Carter of The Inquiry; Dr. P. C. Chang and Prof. James T. Shotwell, both of Columbia University. (Maude White Stewart, 140 E. 63 Street, New York.)

Dame Rachel Honored

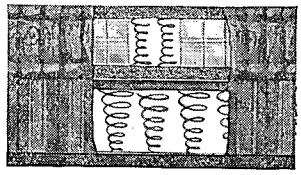
A DINNER in honor of Dame Rachel Crowdy will be given at the Hotel Astor on February 10, under the auspices of the Greater New York Branch of the League of Nations' Association (6 East 39 Street). Dame Rachel is perhaps best known for her splendid work for eleven years as chief of the Social Questions and Opium Traffic Section of the League.

SINK . .

DOWN . .

DOWN . .

DOWN . . *into* SLEEP



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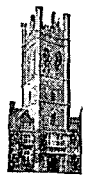

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(*Continued from page* 519) of men at work as there is to keeping an army corps in the field. Records must be meticulous, accounts must be balanced, timekeepers' reports must be checked, payrolls made up, everything must be kept up to the minute else the whole system will back up into confusion. At first the staff worked far into the night, but now an evening shift handles the mass of routine clerical work and every desk is clear by midnight.

The Emergency Work Bureau has twenty-five thousand men and women at work in New York. They are paid weekly wages totaling something like $400,000. They are all doing useful work. They are shoveling snow on streets not usually cleared; they are making the improved parks more sightly; they are putting ahead the city's program for opening up unimproved park lands; they are clearing vacant lots, waterfront spaces, and roadsides of the disfiguring debris of twenty years; they are cleaning and scouring and renovating institutions, public and private, from one end of the city to the other. And they are doing it cheerfully and well. There are a few malingerers and defeatists, a few chronic kickers, a few of fiber not tough enough to stand up under the work and its conditions. But the number of these is small and they soon drop out. The men make their own code. Slackers feel the weight of group disapproval. White-collar men whose hands blister on the first day on the shovel are by common consent slipped into easier places until they toughen up. The man who leaves the gang to go to a regular full-time job gets a rousing send-off. There has been a very small turnover. There just aren't any regular jobs this winter and every man clings fast to what he has—so much better than nothing at all. All men are covered by employers' liability insurance, and when one falls sick on the job a home visit by a case worker determines whether or not he shall be kept on the payroll till he recovers, with the chances, it should be added, all in his favor.

Just now the Bureau is carrying its peak load. It hopes, by adjustment, and with the cooperation of regular employment agencies, to reduce this to an average of twenty thousand. There is work enough promised and scheduled to keep these men at work until April. There is money enough at hand to pay them. And then what?

Mr. Matthews stares ahead into the snow-powdered winter twilight. "God knows. It will take us five years to mop up after this. But let's get today straightened out first. They'll take two hundred more men at Bronx Park, and the greenhouse at Prospect Park has places for fifty. Will you call the baker in the morning Miss Scherff, and ask for ten more loaves of bread? It was a narrow squeak today. Don't you think, young Houston, we'd better get in a supply of overshoes? We can't send men out to work in snowy streets with cardboard in their shoes. Never mind, I'll attend to that. You get on home. What time did you leave here last night anyway?"

MORE FIRE, AND STILL FIDDLING

(*Continued from page* 504)

sentative Porter, and their colleagues in the various battles which have marked this war since the Shanghai conference in 1909, always has been in the van. It may not be too much to say that without our spur and leadership, there might not have been any war.

"Ain't it ever goin' to stop rainin'," asked the farmer's wife.

"Well, Sally, all I can say is, it always has."

The African thunder doctor goes out into the storm and jaws the crashing skies; whereupon slowly, reluctantly, the thunder god retires over the horizon.

"Do you really believe he drives the thunder away?" Stewart Edward White asked of his gun bearer. A quizzical expression twinkled in the black man's face as he answered:

"Sahib, I know only that always it goes away."

As if it were a spell of bad weather, sure to go away of itself, the governments of the world are trifling with the stupendous flood of narcotics, sweeping across every national border, including our own. Relying upon luck and hope, and incantations variously worded. Meanwhile, those chiefly responsible pocket the profits, winking with one eye and deliberately or stupidly blind with the other, in a double face.

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NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE— Courtenay Dinwiddie, General Secretary, 331 Fourth Avenue, New York. To improve child labor legislation; to conduct investigation in local communities; to advise on administration; to furnish information. Annual membership, $2, $5, $10, $25 and $100 includes monthly publication. "The American Child."

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DIRECTORY OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

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DOLE-ITIS

(*Continued from page* 489)

it is also a national opportunity. Jobs must be found for most of the unemployed before we can expect industry to survive. J. H. Hobson, the economist, thinks the approach lies "in a better distribution of income as will place an increased proportion of the purchasing power in the hands of those who will use it in a general raising of the standard of life of the community. . . . This is the only remedy for failure of expansion of markets or under-consumption, which shows itself as the direct cause of under-production and unemployment."

A report by three Liberals, sent in a memo to the government this fall, gives the best summary of the situation. This study estimated that technological changes and international depression accounted for more than one million unemployed. The remaining one million were called "refractory," and this group must be reabsorbed into industry. The obstacles in the way include conservatism, vested prejudices, trade-union restrictions, old-fashioned directors, interference by bankers in management, taxation. The level of efficiency must be raised by reducing government costs, instituting vast public improvements, placing insurance on an actuarial basis. The report closes with the proposal for a national development loan at $1,250,000,000, which would grant self-help to industries through an industrial bank, create family farms through the state, improve roads, telephone service, and so forth.

In the debate in early December, Parliament voted to pass the whole problem on to a Royal Commission which will make an exhaustive study and report. This move brought criticism from Liberal and Conservative leaders who charged that the Labour Party was seeking to "pass the buck."

Conclusion

THE fundamental lesson to be derived from German and English experience is that we should at all costs avoid the road to dole-itis. The methods which may be derived to avoid a recurrence of our present situation must safeguard the essential character-making qualities, personal independence, and individual initiative, particularly precious to the American people.

If, however, the time and occasion should arise making the establishment of unemployment insurance imperative in the United States, it would be well for us to distinguish sharply between the structure of unemployment insurance and the dole-itis which has turned it into a scheme of mass relief. It is well to bear in mind also that the British system was the first in the field and there are many features in the German unemployment insurance law that are worthy of close scrutiny. The total coverage is 18,200,000, excluding only those engaged in agriculture, forestry, fishing, or employed less than six months in a year, and apprentices. Contribution consists only of payroll deduction and paid only by worker and employer on an equal basis. It does not include state contribution as in England. Contributions and benefits are paid on the amount of wages and salaries, not on a flat rate as in England. The largest proportionate benefits (*Continued on page* 528)

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